READING IN INDIAN HISTORY

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FOREWORD

The present book is a collection of those papers which the late Prof. Mohammad Yasin had left unpublished. As a historian Dr. Yasin loved to gather information from all available sources. No information was insignificant to him, but could not rely on them unless they withstand his test. Dr. Yasin, whom I knew, was a difficult man to be satisfied whether as a person or a historian. Both in his personal and academic life he was a real fighter and an uncompromising man. Knowing well that he was thus making more foes than friends he never agreed to change his position. This, the readers will be able to discern from the book which his wife, Dr. Madhavi Yasin, has edited for publication.

These papers are not on any particular aspect of history. They vary in their subject matter. The reason is quite understandable. The author is no more with us. So either they could have been left to remain in oblivion or brought them to the light !

In one paper the author speaks of the historiography with special reference to the famous 14th century historian philosopher, Ibn-e-Khaldun. Afterwards we are introduced to Al-Biruni and his contribution to Indology. From them we come to the 19th century India and meet Sayyid Ahmad Shahid of Rai Bareilly. Dr. Yasin has in this paper, critically analyzed the Sayyid's mission and has discussed the reasons of the apparant failure of the movement. In the 'Indo-Islamic Architecture' the author provides us a panoramic visit to the architectural achievements of the Indian Muslims. Also we are told about the Provincial architecture of Sharqi dynasty. The paper dealing with the "Sufi Silsilah" challenges the common-place conception that *Tasawwuf* was alien to Islam, or

the Sufis were the people of only the other world. On the contrary Dr. Yasin asserts that, like the Mu'tazallah, the Sufis were also interested in reason, and had attempted to establish harmony between religion and philosophy. The last paper deals with the "Inter-sect Conflict Among Muslims". Here again Dr. Yasin takes the unorthodox position when he tries to prove that the Indian Muslims are not a solid homogeneous block held together by the cement of Islam. Faith does bring them together but it does not make them a nation.

Dr. Yasin breathed his last while serving the University of Kashmir as Professor and Head of its Postgraduate Department of History. In the way of keeping his memory alive the University could not have done better than to providing grant for publication of these papers.

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PREFACE

The research papers of late Prof. Mohammad Yasin throw light on different aspects of the Indian history. The paper on Ibn Khaldun, the Arab historian, brings out his positive outlook, matter-of-fact style, and the earliest attempt made by any historian to discover a pattern in the changes that occur in man's political and social organisations. The paper on al-Biruni highlights his contributions to the more strictly scientific disciplines, and as an objective historian unique in the history of his own faith and times. The paper on the Sufi Silsilahs clears certain misconceptions and fallacies about it. The essence of mysticism was not foreign to Islam, its seed was sown during the life-time of Prophet Mohammad. In the Quranic verses "Whithersoever ye turn, there is the face of God" and "we are closer to him than his jugular vein".

In the history of Sufism, between 11th to 13th centuries, mystic thought had been consolidated into a coherent discipline and a consistent philosophy through the efforts of mystic philosophers like Imam Qushairi, Abu Hamid Ghazzali and Shaikh Muhyi'd-din Ibnu'l Arabi.

Muslim mysticism reached India almost simultaneously with the foundation of the Delhi Sultanate through the mystic orders of Chistiyya and Suhrawardiyya. The chapter on Indo-Islamic Architecture deals with unique phase in the history of the world when the people of two creeds, radically different to one another in culture, civilization, ideals and tastes, came into contact as was the case of Hinduism and Islam. Under its impact a distinct style of architecture known as the Indo-Muslim or Indo-Islamic was evolved. So far as general features of new style are concerned, the arch and dome were

major contributions of Islam to the development of Indian architecture.

The chapter on Sayyid Ahmad Shahid portrays the dynamic personality of the crusader in the cause of Islam. The lasting impact of his mission and movement have claimed the attention of serious scholars, especially in Pakistan. But unfortunately, they have depended mainly on Islamic sources whereas the triangular contest between the British, Muslims and Sikhs for political supremacy demands that the Sikh and the British sources should also be sifted so as to present a correct picture of the movement and live portrayal of the personality of Sayyid Ahmad. Dr. Yasin has taken into account every source material bearing upon the subject.

The Sikh community is a bulwark of India's defence and their sacrifices go unchallenged. But in the Great Revolt of 1857, they sided with the British. Why ? This question remains unanswered so far. It is Dr. Yasin who, for the first time brings to the forefront the reasons for their support to the East India Company and provides the solution to the great riddle and supposed paradox of the Sikh psychology. The black-mark on the forehead of the Sikh Community has been washed clean. It also highlights the evolution of Two-Nation Theory.

In the words of Dr. Yasin : "This monograph was written as a part of the research project while I was with the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Montreal, Canada. In the course of informal discussions on Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, I expressed the view that his mission and movement needed re-appraisal. Dr. Charles J. Adams, now Director of the Institute, was quick to corner me to do something concrete. Hence this monograph.

I am thankful to Prof. Wilfred Cantwell Smith, Director of World Religions, Harvard University, who very kindly went through the manuscript and suggested numerous improvements. My thanks are also due to Mr. W.J. Watson, ex-Librarian, Institute of the Islamic Studies, McGill University, for giving me helping hand in procuring books."

The last paper deals with the Inter-Sect Conflict Among the Muslims. The paper dwells on various sects and sub-sects among the Muslims in India. It is an informative paper and

gives clue to the psychology and thinking of the Indian Muslims.

I am grateful to His Excellency, Shri Jag Mohan, Rajyapal, Jammu & Kashmir for his generous patronage. I am equally grateful to Dr. Farooq Abdullah, Chief Minister, Jammu & Kashmir, for his active help and cooperation. A special acknowledgement is due to the Shaikh Family, especially *Madar-i-Mehrban*, Akbar Jahan Begam, for the ungrudging help and cooperation. She very kindly permitted me to dedicate the book to her late husband, Sher-i-Kashmir, Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah. I thank Prof. Surayya Abdullah and Shaikh Nazir Ahmad, General Secretary, National Conference for their ready cooperation. I take this occasion to thank, Shri C. Phonsog, Secretary to the Rajyapal, Shri Mahmudur Rahman, Principal Secretary to the Chief Minister and Shri V.K. Bakaya, Education Commissioner, J & K, for their help. I am grateful to Prof. Mushir-ul-Haq, Vice Chancellor, Kashmir University for writing foreword to the Book, and giving me all help in getting the book published. I am grateful to Shri G.N. Siddiqui, Registrar, Kashmir University, and Dr. Hamidullah Bhatt, Deputy Registrar, Development Section, for expediting the formalities for the publication grant.

I am grateful to Prof. Irfan Habib, Chairman, ICHR, for his timely help and guidance.

Thanks are due to Shri Suren Agarwal, Director, ICSSR, Documentation Centre, New Delhi and Shri Shabbir Ahmad, Zonal Director, Labour Ministry, Government of India, my *rakhi* brothers for their help and timely guidance. My brother, Shri Ashok Tewari, deserves special mention not only for typing the manuscript, but for his unsolicited help to me after the death of my husband. My thanks are also due to Shri Arif Haleem Khan, who is more than a son to me.

I am also thankful to Shri K.R. Gupta, and Shri Manish Gupta of the Atlantic Publishers & Distributors for publishing the book in record time. Their dynamism and expedition is simply praiseworthy.

MADHAVI YASIN

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CHAPTER I

HISTORIOGRAPHY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO IBN KHALDUN

HISTORY as the record of bygone times has existed ever since man acquired the art of writing. The third century B.C. saw the almost simultaneous appearance of the Egyptian Annals of Manetho, the Babylonian History of Berrossos, and the Books of the Chronicles of the kings of Israel and Judah. But earlier than these were the two Hebrew Books of kings (about 575 B.C.) the Jahvist sections of the Pentateuch. Joshua, and Samuel – the oldest historical works in the extant literature of the world. The purpose of these works was, of course, didactic and pragmatical. The writers were very little concerned to investigate the sources of their information, nor did they trouble themselves much about the accuracy of their assertions. Their business was to preach righteousness, to extirpate idolatory, and vindicate the ways of God to Man.

In Striking contrast to the piety of the Orientals were the secularity and rationality of the Greeks. These remarkable peoples had come as intruders and invaders – from about 2000 B.C. onward—into regions where the old Mediterranean civilizations of Crete. Egypt, and Asia Minor were firmly established. The Greeks began to see things as they actually were, without the trappings of superstition. They displayed a passion for enquiry—what they called *ioropia*, or history—and among the subjects of their insatiable curiosity were pre-eminently the affairs of the human race. The first Greek historian known to us is Hecataeus, a fellow-citizen of Thales, born in Miletus in or about the year 546 B.C. He wrote of the origin of the Greek peoples and of their early wanderings.

The successor to Hecataeus was the great Herodotus of Halicarnassus (484-425 B.C.), sometime called "the father of history". He had a fine theme, namely, the conflict between the Greeks and the Persians, between Europe and Asia, between West and East. He recognized that the political struggle was really a contest between opposing civilizations and between wholly incompatible ways of life. The third notable Greek historian, Thucydides (471-401 B.C.), was much more careful than Herodotus had been to verify his statements; he was far less inclined to wander from the mainstream of his narrative into irrelevant (though fascinating) by-ways; he had incontestably a superior power of story-telling. But on the other hand, his interests were more restricted; he too much identified history with mere politics and war; he failed to penetrate to the deeper causes of events; he attributed too great an influence to the actions of individuals. Moreover, he wrote history with a rhetorical—or what Croce calls a "practicistical"—purpose. That is to say, he regarded it not so much in the light of a science whose function it is to explain and elucidate the present, as in the light of an art whose function it is to determine the course of the future. He held a cyclic view of human affairs; and maintained that "an accurate acquaintance with the events of the past would be useful, because, in all probability, the same sort of things would happen again". Polybius (204-122 B.C.), another Greek historian, who lived in Rome and wrote of the Roman Republic, shared the belief of Thucydides in the cyclic revolution of the polities of man; but he was far more scientific than Thucydides. That is to say, he was cooler, more impartial, less rhetorical, concerned rather to interpret the present than to control the future. His work is a model of judicial impartiality, and is therefore somewhat dull. He held the doctrine that "history is philosophy teaching by examples".

The First notable work of Latin history was, indeed, the inimitable Gallic War (51 B.C.) of Julius Caesar. It gives a vivid and masterly account of seven of the eight campaigns that resulted in adding a new province to the Roman Empire. But, it is primarily an autobiography. With all its impersonality and restraint, it is essentially its author's *apologia pro vita sua*. Not wholly unworthy to follow the writings of the

incomparable Caesar were the works of his contemporary and supporter, Sallust (86-34 B.C.). He wrote of the events of his own turbulent times in a detailed history of which, unfortunately, only a few fragments remain. A more accurate view of the Roman fate was taken by Livy, whose career (59 B.C.—17 A.D.) formed a bridge linking the Republic to the Empire, and the pre-Christian era to the Christian. However, as a historian he was careless in matters of detail; he gave currency to countless unsubstantial legends; he settled questions of truth by means of his own predilections; he freely composed speeches for his leading characters. A hundred years later than Livy flourished Tacitus, the last and in respect of language the most notable of all the great Roman historians (55-117 A.D.). Tacitus was unquestionably a moralist rather than a scientific historian.

The Conversion of Constantine (306-337 A.D.), and the triumph of the Christian Church over Roman paganism which was completed within the ambits of the century, had a profound effect upon historiography. The writing of history passed into the hands of priests and monks, and in their hands it remained throughout the medieval millennium. This meant that historiography was reduced to the rank of the handmaid of theology; that it was made pragmatic and didactic; that it lost whatever scientific character it ever had, and became wholly indirffeent both to truth and probability; that it became filled with miracles and marvels; that it ceased to regard any values that were not religious; that it lost all sense of perspective; that, in short, it blotted true history out of existence for a thousand years.

But if patristic historiography was fatal to the science of history, it was by way of compensation the creator of the philosophy of history. History was emancipated from local and temporal limitations. It was given an unprecedented dignity as the record of God's dealings with Man. The *Ecclesiastical History* of *Eusebius* (324 A.D.) was a work of a new type : it was the first attempt to write a history of civilization. St. Augustine's *Civitas Dei* (426 A.D.)—dealing with the four successive pagan empires of the Assyrians, Persians, Macedonians, and Romans—may similarly be regarded as the first attempt to frame a complete philosophy

of history. It was, however, a singularly unsuccessful attempt; for it contained neither philosophy nor history, but merely theology and fiction. Nevertheless, it was a sublime effort of the sanctified imagination and his conception, both of history and of philosophy, remained dominant throughout the thousand years of the middle ages, a nightmare obsession.

The Middle ages, thus auspiciously inaugurated, got all the general secular history they seemed to need from Augustine and Crosius, and all the ecclesiastical history considered good for them from Eusebius and his continuators, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Cassiodorus. The original contributions which the middle ages made to historiography were of a very different order. They consisted primarily of annals and of chronicles. The *annals* were mere jottings of contemporary events made in the margins of the chronological tables by means of which the date of Easter was determined. Gradually, however, the quality of the entries improved, until in the later middle ages such annals as those of Roger of Hoveden, or the *Greater Annals of Cologne*, became valuable records of historical happenings. The *chronicles* attempted a larger survey, keeping the annalistic form, they professed to summarize the history of the world from the creation to the date of writing. For the earlier section of their chronology they were usually content to transcribe the fabulous fabrications of Eusebius. For the later section, however, dealing with their own days, they drew upon more authentic sources of information, and gradually they became works to which the name of history might not inappropriately be assigned. Among the many notable and invaluable chronicles of the closing period of the middle ages the following may be mentioned as typical: the *Chronicle of Nantes* in France (to 1049 A.D.); the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (to 1154 A.D.); the *Chronicle* of Otto of Freising in Germany (to 1158 A.D.), the *Greater Chronicle* of Matthew Paris in England (to 1255 A.D.). In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the annalistic form began to be dropped, the number of recorded miracles and marvels tended to diminish, the style of consecutive narrative commenced to prevail. Works of the new type were well represented by the famous and delightful *Chronicles* of Froissart (1337-1410 A.D.), and by the not less attractive and

far more scholarly Memoirs of Philippe de Commines (1445-1509 A.D.).[1]

Arab Influence

The Improvement characteristic of the later medieval chronicles was due in no small degree to the influence of the Arabic civilization of the contemporary Muslim world. Christianity and Islam came into contact with one another in the Holy Land and its vicinity, in Sicily and South Italy, and in the Spanish Peninsula. This contact was by no means wholly, or even mainly, a hostile one. Just as Balaam came to curse Israil and remained to bless, so did the Crusaders set out to fight Islam and remain to sit at its feet and learn. For the semi-barbaric warriors of the Cross found to their amazement that the Muslims were possessed of a terrestrial civilization incomparably superior to their own. In the field of historiography al-Masudi of Arabia (d. 956 A.D.), in his *Kitab-ul-Aja'ib*, had surveyed with masterly ability both the history and the ethnography of Western Asia, Northern Africa, and Eastern Europe; Ibn Khallikan of Damascus (1211-1282 A.D.) compiled a dictionary of historical biography, simply superb both in form and substance, not unworthy to be compared with the classical *Parallel Lives* of Plutarch.[2] But, above all, Ibn Khaldun wrote, *inter alia*, *a Prolegomena to Universal History* so remarkable in the sweep of its information, the sanity of its outlook, and the profundity of its philosophy, as to justify Professor Flint in speaking of the great Arab scholar as "the founder of the science of history".[3]

Ibn Khaldun's claim on our attention rests on firm ground, for his *Prolegomena* represents the most comprehensive synthesis in the Human Sciences ever achieved by the Arabs, and gives the modern non-specialist reader an accurate and vivid picture of the range of knowledge available to the medieval Muslim world. Other Muslim thinkers, notably Ibn Sina (Avicenna)[4], Ibn Rushd (Averroes),[5] and al-Ghazzali,[6] had a much deeper insight into metaphysical and religious problems, and their influence over Europe was immense; but Ibn Khaldun, while profiting from their philosophical speculations, greatly surpassed them in his understanding of

social problems. Indeed, it is not too much to say that Ibn Khaldun is the greatest figure in the Social Sciences between the time of Aristotle and that of Machiavelli and as such deserves the attention of every one who is interested in these sciences. More than any of his contemporaries, whether European or Arab, he tackles the kind of problem which preoccupies us today : the nature of society; the influence of climate and occupation on the character of groups; the best educational methods, etc. Moreover, his positive outlook and matter-of-fact style render him particularly congenial to the modern mind brought up on a tradition of scientific method.

Ibn Khaldun : Life and Training

Abdur Rahman Abu Zaid ibn Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Khaldun, statesman, jurist, historian, and scholar, was born in Tunis on May 27, 1332. His family claimed descent from a Yemenite tribe originating in Hazramaut, the central part of the southern coast of Arabia. The family, for several centuries, enjoyed great prominence in the political leadership and revolutionary activities of Moorish Spain, finally crossing over to North-West Africa a few years before the fall of Sevilla into the hands of the Christians in 1248 A.D. Ibn Khaldun's immediate ancestors—all accomplished courtiers and scholars—were attached to the court of the Hafsid rulers in Bone and in Tunis. The love of learning and intellectual pursuits for which his father and grandfather were noted, coupled with the political aspirations that had fired a long line of his Moorish forebears, produced the rare combination of philosopher and stateman that we find in Ibn Khaldun.

His early education followed traditional lines. He was tutored in the *Qur'an*, the *Hadis*, jurisprudence, and the subtleties of Arabic poetry and grammar by some of the best-known scholars of the time, and later applied himself to the study of Arab mysticism and the philosophy of the Moorish Aristotelians. The formative years of his life coincided with the period from 1347 to 1357, a time of great political upheaval in North-West Africa, when the position of the Hafsids became very precarious. In 1352, at the age of twenty, Ibn Khaldun was launched upon a Government career, but he did not relish the prospect of staying in Tunis, and in 1354

left his home city to enter the service of the Merinid Sultan Ab 'Inan at Fez. Here he completed his education and met the eminent scholars of the day. It was this contact with many cultural influences as well as his own intellectual versatility that prevented him from specializing in any of the established disciplines. Fortunately, he was gifted with rare insight, enabling him to penetrate the essentials of accumulated knowledge ; so that, when he was ripe for his destined task, he was able to review historical experience on a universal scale and thus make his lasting contribution to the study of history.[7]

Ibn Khaldun led a stormy life and was subjected to many ups and downs. In 1375, however, he and his family took refuge with the powerful tribe of Aulad 'Arif, who allowed them to live under their protection in Qal'at Ibn Salamah, a fortress village in the province of Oran. There Ibn Khaldun spent over three years in comfort and quiet and settled down to write *Kitab-ul-'ibar*, his *History* of the world. In November 1377, he tells us, he finished the introduction (*Muqaddimah*), "with words and ideas pouring into my head like cream into a churn". It was to take him four more years to complete his monumental *Universal History*.[8]

Subsequently, he left Qal'at Ibn Salamah and entered the service of the Sultan of Tunis, where he devoted himself almost exclusively to study, teaching and research. Having secured permission to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, he travelled to Cairo, where he was received by the ruler al-Malik al-Zahir Barquq, who insisted on his remaining there. In 1384 the ruler appointed him professor of Malikite Jurisprudence in the Qamhiyah College and then Grand Qazi of the Malikite Rite for Cairo. This important office he filled with great distinction, removing many of the abuses which had long disgraced the administration of justice in Egypt.

In 1387 Ibn Khaldun made the pilgrimage to Mecca. After his return to Cairo eight months later he was appointed to the most eminent academic posts of the day. In 1399 he was invited to resume the Malikite judgeship, but in the few years that followed he was removed from that office and reinstated no fewer than five times.

A visit to Damascus, in the company of Barquq's successor, the ten-year-old Faraj, was made in 1400, and on the return journey a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Hebron was arranged. Later Ibn Khaldun left Egypt, again in the young ruler's company, on another expedition to Damascus, which was now being attacked by Tamerlane's Tartar armies. The siege and surrender that followed provided him with an opportunity to meet the famous conqueror, as a result of which he was able to leave the world a vivid account of an historic encounter.

He returned to Egypt in March 1401 and, apart from the dates of his appointments and dismissals from the judgeship, little is known about the last five years of his life. He died on March 17, 1406, and was buried in the Sufi Cemetery outside Cairo.[9]

Sources of Ibn Khaldun's Doctrines

The sources of Ibn Khaldun's doctrines and the influences that moulded his thinking have not yet been fully explored. They may be divided into the following groups for the sake of conveniences :

Muslim historians, such as Al-Tabari, al-Masudi, al-Waqidi and others whom Ibn Khaldun quotes abundantly. But these historians rarely rise above the level of chroniclers and it is not likely that Ibn Khaldun could have derived from them his systematic approach and his search for universal laws and tendencies governing social phenomena.

The same may be of the second group that of the Muslim *political thinkers*, such as al-Turtushi, Ibn al-Muqaffa' and al-Mawardi, who are also quoted by Ibn Khaldun as having attempted to study the laws of social developments.[10]

Of course it is possible that Ibn Khaldun was influenced by some Spanish work which was later destroyed either by the Muslims or by the Inquisition. But until such an influence can be traced, it is safer to assume that Ibn Khaldun reached his conclusions by an independent process of study and meditation on the events he saw around him or read of in the chronicles. So, to the best of our knowledge, he had no predecessors, and also perhaps, he had no successors in the

world of Islam. He was indeed singularly unlucky in his times.

Had he been born two or three centuries earlier he might have been translated into Latin, along with so many other Arab Philosophers, scientists and historians, and thus have influenced European thought. Two centuries later he might have profited from the West, where, he reports, "the philosophical sciences are reviving in numerous centres in Rome and other lands of the Franks". Ibn Khaldun remained for five centuries a prophet without honour in either his own country or abroad. During the last hundred years, however, he has increasingly attracted the interest of both Arab and Western scholars. He was discovered by the West too late to influence its thought ; but there, perhaps even more than in the East, his genius has been fully appreciated.

His Idea of History

What is now called the *Muqaddimah* (prolegomena or introduction) consists, in fact, of Ibn Khaldun's original Preface and Book I of his *Universal History* (*Kitab-ul-'Ibar*). It can be regarded as the earliest attempt mad by any historian to discover a pattern in the changes that occur in man's political and social organization. Rational in its approach, analytical in its method, encyclopaedic in detail, it represents an atmost complete departure from traditional historiography, discarding conventional concepts and cliches and seeking, beyond the mere chronicle of events, an explanation—— and hence a philosophy——of history. In rejecting idle superstition and denouncing uncritical acceptance of historical data, Ibn Khaldun adopted a scientific method totally new to his age, and used a new terminology to drive home his ideas. That he was fully aware of the originality of his thinking and the uniqueness of his contribution is illustrated by the many references he makes to his "new science". According to him all dynastic history moves in cycles. As it draws nearer to decay and disintegration, the dynasty shrinks inwards under the pressure of the challenging outsider and his group until it finally collapses. Then the new dynasty proceeds upon the path of power, only to suffer the fate of its predecessor. He rejects the view that former nations were better endowed for

achieving a high civilization than contemporary nations. It is merely the decay of political organization and power of government that gives the impression that contemporary civilization is inferior to that of the past.

According to Ibn Khaldun "History is a discipline widely cultivated among nations and races. It is eagerly sought after. The men in the street, the ordinary people, aspire to know it. Kings and leaders vie for it. Both the learned and the ignorant are able to understand it. For on the surface history is no more than information about political events, dynasties, and occurrences of the remote past, elegantly presented and spiced with proverbs. It serves to entertain large, crowded gathering and brings to us an understanding of human affairs. It shows how changing conditions affected (human affairs), how certain dynasties came to occupy an ever wider space in the world, and how they settled the earth until they heard the call and their time was up. The inner meaning of history, on the other hand, involves speculation and an attempt to get at the truth, subtle explanation of the causes and origins of existing things, and deep knowledge of the how and why of events. History, therefore, is firmly rooted in philosophy. It deserves to be accounted a branch of it."[11]

The writing of history, according to Ibn Khaldun, "requires numerous sources and much varied knowledge. It also requires a good speculative mind and thoroughness, which lead the historian to the truth and keep him from slips and errors. If he trusts historical information in its plain transmitted form and has no clear knowledge of the principles resulting from custom, the fundamental facts of politics, the nature of civilization, or the conditions governing human social organization, and if, furthermore, he does not evaluate remote or ancient material through comparison with near or contemporary material, he often cannot avoid stumbling and slipping and deviating from the path of truth. Historians, *Quran* commentators and leading transmitters have committed frequent errors in the stories and events they reported. They accepted them in the plain transmitted form, without regard for its value. They did not check them with the principles underlying such historical situations, nor did they compare them with similar material. Also, they did not probe with

the yardstick of philosophy, with the help of knowledges of the nature of things, or with the help of speculation and historical insight. Therefore, they strayed from the truth and found themselves lost in the desert of baseless assumptions and errors. This is especially the case with figures, either of sums of money or of soldiers, whenever they occur in stories. They offer a good opportunity for false information and constitute a vehicle for nonsensical statements. They must be controlled and checked with the help of known fundamental facts."[12]

Ibn Khaldun further outlines the sources of error in historical writing. All records by their very nature, according to him, are liable to error ; they contain factors which make for error. The first of these is *partisanship* towards a creed or opinion. "For", he says, "when the mind receives in a state of neutrality and moderation any piece of information it gives to that information its due share of investigation and criticism, so as to disengage the truth it contains from the errors ; should the mind, however, be biased in favour of an opinion or creed, it at once accepts every favourable piece of information concerning this opinion. Therefore, partisanship acts as a blinker to the mind, preventing it from investigating and criticizing and inclining it to the reception and transmission of error. The second factor conducive to error is *overconfidence* in one's sources. Such sources should be accepted only after thorough investigation involving the criticism of falsehoods and the correction of distortion."[13]

Failure to understand what is intended, is the third factor in the way of honest and impartial history writing. "Many a chronicler falls into error by failing to grasp the real meaning of what he has seen or heard and by relating the event according to what he thinks or imagines", contended Ibn Khaldun. "A fourth source of error is a *mistaken belief in the truth*. This happens often, generally taking the form of excessive faith in the authority of one's sources. A fifth factor is the inability rightly *to place an event in its real context*, owing to the obscurity and complexity of the situation. The chronicler contents himself with reporting the event as he saw it, thus distorting its significance. A sixth factor is the very common desire *to gain the favour* of those of high rank, by praising

them, by spreading their fame, by flattering them, by embellishing their doings and by interpreting in the most favourable way all their actions. The result of the foregoing is to give a distorted version of historical events. For all men love praise, and people, in general, seek the pleasures of this world and the means that lead thereto, such as honour and wealth, nor do they in general seek virtue or try to gain the favour of virtuous men."[14]

The most important of all the causes, according to Ibn Khaldun, "*is the ignorance of the laws* governing the transformation of human society. For every single thing, whether it be an object or an action, is subject to a law governing its nature and any changes that may take place in it. If, therefore, the historian understands the nature of events and of changes that occur in the world, and the conditions governing them, such knowledge will help him more than anything else to clarify any record and to distinguish the truths it contains from the falsehoods". *Exaggeration* is another cause of error because "men's minds are fond of all that is strange and unsual, and that the tongue easily slips into exaggeration, while the investigator and critic is apt to overlook things, so that he does not try to check his statements or weigh them in a fair and critical spirit of enquiry and investigation, but rather gives his imagination a free rein and lets his tongue loose in a pasture of falsehoods".[15]

According to Ibn Khaldun, "the conditions of the world, and of the nations, with their customs and modes of occupation, do not persist in one unchanging state or stable pattern, but are transformed with the passage of time and move from one condition to another. And just as individuals and times and cities change, so do zones of climate and epochs and countries and states".[16] So, "men, reading or hearing the chronicles of the past, and forgetting the great changes, nay revolutions, in conditions and institutions that have taken place since those times, draw analogies between the events of the past and those that take place around them, judging the past by what they know of the present. Yet the differences between the two periods may be great, thus leading to gross error".[17] Hence, the relative levels of different societies are to be considered differently. The truth of a recorded event is not

to be denied simply because one has not come across its counterpart in one's own age and field of experience. Conditions of existence vary and the state of society fluctuates. "The historian should thererefore", advises Ibn Khaldun, "trace back all narratives to their origin, and should preserve a watchful attitude, using his mind and right intuition to distinguish what is naturally possible from what is impossible and rejecting anything that falls outside the bounds of possibility. And by possibility we do not mean mere *logical* or *mental* possibility, for that is very wide and cannot help in evaluating questions of fact; rather we mean material possibility (*i.e.* what is possible for a thing, given its nature) !" "This is the best method", he assures us, "and the surest, for clarifying narratives and sifting the truth they contain from the errors". And clarification is to be undertaken only in the light of the knowledge of the characteristics of society. "It is prior", he emphasises, "to attempting to clarify by criticizing and amending the chronicles of historians, for such internal criticism and amendment of sources should be attempted only after ascertaining whether the event related is intrinsically possible or impossible; for if it be impossible there is no point in attempting to criticize and amend".[18] He further states; "Narratives dealing with actual events, on the other hand, can be judged only by considering their correspondence to reality. Hence an examination of their intrinsic possibility is prior to, and more important than, the criticism of the source. In other words, the value of a precept or injunction lies in itself, whereas that of a narrative of events lies in its correspondence to external reality". "The criterion for distinguishing the possible from the impossible", he points out, "is to be found in the study of human society, with a view to distinguishing between those of its phenomena which are essential and arise from its very nature, those which are accidental and unimportant and finally those which cannot occur in it. Such a study gives us a standard by which we can infallibly and indubitably mark off truth from error in any narrative concerning social phenomena".[19]

Historiography, today, is passing through a crisis. Historians are divided into many schools and there are, so to say, various approaches to the study and writing of history. We

are at a cross-road; but there stands the greatest master of all times, an Arabic genius Ibn Khaldun, with his tested formulae showing us the way in the right direction, free from all bias, prejudices, theories and *isms*. He has conceived and formulated a philosophy of history which is undoubtedly the greatest achievement unsurpassed by any mind in any time or place; he ventured to speculate on what we should call today the methods of historical research. Admirable alike by in his originality and sagacity, in his profundity and his comprehensiveness, Ibn Khaldun stands alone; shines Aloof !

DOCUMENTATION

1. Cf. *An Outline of Modern Knowledge, London*, 1937, pp. 779-785.
2. Six hundred years after its first appearance, it was translated into English : Cf. M. Slane, *Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary*, 4 vols., 1842-1871.
3. R. Flint, *History of the Philosophy of History*, 1893, pp. 157-171.
4 Ibn Sina (980-1037), known to the West as Avicenna, was born near Bokhara, in Central Asia. An amazingly precocious youth, from the age of 16 onward he served as physician to several rulers in Persia. His *Canon of Medicine* established him as the leading medical authority in Islam, and found its way into most European Universities. He developed and systematized al-Farabi's syncretic philosophy.
5. Ibn Rushd (1126-98), famous in medieval Europe as Averroes, was the last of the great Muslim philosophers. Born in Cardova, he served as court physician and judge in Spain and Morocco. Most of his works have perished; some survived in the Hebrew or Latin translations, which spread Averroism throughout the universities of Europe. Ibn Rushd carries further than most of the Muslim philosophers the bold use of reason, even where that leads to conclusions which seem to contradict the teachings of religion.
6. Al-Ghazzali (1058-1111), known to medieval Europe as Algazel, has often been compared to Thomas Aquinas and his monumental *Ihya-ul-'ulum* to the *Sunna Theologica*. Combating the critical intellect of a philosopher with the spiritual awareness of a mystic, he made noteworthy contributions to both metaphysics and theology. His autobiography has been translated into several languages, including English.
7. Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, English trans. by Franz Rosenthal, edited and abridged by N.J. Dawood, London, 1967, p. vii.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. viii, ix.
9. *Ibid.*, p. ix.

10. Political thought there has always been in Islam, but it either started from the Shari'at, and the problem was how to harmonize the existing State with the explicit regulations of the Shari'at, or it started from Plato and tried to harmonize the actual State with the ideal State of perfect reason, losing itself in speculation. Moreover, in the minds of most Muslim thinkers both trends of thought interacted upon each other. Ibn Khaldun, however, for the first time started from a hitherto unknown quantity : the human society. His problem was : how did society, as the aggregate of individuals, form itself into a political organization, and how did it develop.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 35; *An Arab Philosophy of History*, translated and arranged by Charles Issawi, London, 1950, p. 27. The process of criticism known as *Ta'dil wa Tajrih* was extensively applied by Muslim scholars to the *Hadis* (Traditions) of the Prophet Mohammad. In this way many of the traditions were rejected as spurious.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 28; *The Muqaddimah*, op. cit., p. 36.
15. Issawi, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 31, 32.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 34, 35.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

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Chapter II

AL-BIRUNI AS A STUDENT OF COMPARATIVE RELIGION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HINDUISM[1] AND OBSERVATIONS ON INDIA

The Comparative Study of Religion has only recently been recognized as a discipline though it has been studied in the past with profit to satisfy intellectual cravings and spiritual thirst.[2] Nowadays, there appears to be a lack of understanding about its scope and method. Comparative Religion does not mean or imply a study of various religions of the world just to prove or establish the superiority of one religion over others. Again, it is outside its province to sort out common features of various religions and point out their fundamental unity or similarity. Whereas, Comparative Religion is the study of another religion (Culture not excluded) by persons different from their own. It does not envisage that someone studies another religion and tries to establish the superiority of his own faith. To study a religion only to find fault with it, is against the spirit underlying this discipline. Absolute objectivity is the basic requirement for undertaking such a study. This is not an easy task. The loyalty and attachment to one's faith and cultural heritage is likely to blur his vision and infuse subjectivity in his approach and assessment.[3] Certainly, it is the great master Al-Biruni who shows the way to the searchers after truth. It is he who has disproved the tall claims of short-sighted scholars and historians. To know about the faiths of other men, to study their cultural patterns, to appreciate their laudable institutions, to sympathise with their uncommon beliefs and practices, to touch upon their

failings as softly as possible, requires almost superhuman capabilities. Here lies the test of a social historian. Al-Biruni shines aloof in this field even to this day. He is unbeaten. Al-Biruni himself says : 'He was led to write down his observations on the religions, customs and beliefs of the Hindus, at the instance of Abu Sahl of Tiflis on the ground that he discovered that most of the available literature on the subject of the non-Muslim religions sadly misrepresented those religions, both because of inadequate acquaintance with source material, and because of a highly prejudiced attitude towards the religions they were describing'.[4]

Al-Biruni, one of the greatest scholars of medieval times, was born of Iranian stock in September 973 A.D. in the territory of modern Khiva (then known as Khwarizm or Chorasmiya in antiquity), a Khanate of Turkistan in Central Asia, now part of the U.S.S.R. He died on December 13, 1048 A.D. He was a Sunni Muslim by conviction with Isma 'ilian sympathies in religion and universalist tendencies in philosophy. He studied mathematics, astronomy, medicine, chronology and history, and in all these branches he became a master and a creator. Al-Biruni "never had a pen out of his hand, nor his eye ever off a book, and his thoughts were always directed to his studies", asserts his earliest biographer, Shamsuddin Mohammad Shahrazuri.[5]

Mathematician, astronomer, chemist, anthropologist, geographer, historian, philosopher, Al-Biruni is looked upon as one of the greatest masters—the Supreme Savent—of all times and ages. The "il Maestro" of Prof. M.M. Moreno is one of the clearest thinkers, one of the gentlest nature and one of the best characters to figure predominently in the chronicle of Man. "The Master Aliboron" of the medieval West, by his disinterested scholarship, belongs to the whole world. His passion for truth, his spirit of work unduanted by difficulties of any sort, his intellectual fairness, his sincere religious convictions, his breadth of mind, his versatility of genius, his vision, his unbounded love for human culture, serve as beacon lights for the agonizing and disturbed world of today. The great master fully imbibed the scientific spirit characteristic of the modern world. He waged a relentless war all through his life against narrow mindedness, short-sightedness and all

the fissiparous tendencies which cripple man's growth to his full stature.

Al-Biruni took nothing for granted. He was no eclectic and would stand no compromise with half truth just for the sake of popularity or to please. He was not merely erudite. He did not hide his vast knowledge under the thick veil of abstruse considerations. He longed to communicate his science to his fellow-men He wanted to be understood and he possessed a wonderful gift of exposition, of communication. It was the fruit of a warm heart which readily vibrated in unison with the wonderful world his studies had revealed to him. This natural sympathy with the beautiful, with the truth which he liked to share with others, made him discover as by instinct, the way to overcome distrust and indifference, and to captivate the attention and interest of his readers.

Abul Fazl Baihaqi, who lived about half a century after Al-Biruni, found him "beyond comparison, superior to every man of his time in the art of composition, in scholarlike accomplishments and in knowledge of geometry and philosophy".[6] "He had, moreover, a most rigid regard for truth", Baihaqi adds further :[7] He was a contemporary of Shaikh-ur-Rais Abu Ali Ibn Sina (Avicenna) with whom he corresponded. It was not for nothing that Al-Biruni obtained the sobriquet of "*Muhaqqiq*".[8] When Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna invaded Khiva and annexed the land in 1017 A.D., he also took as hostages to Ghazna the leading men of the defeated country. Among them was Shaikh Abu Raihan Mohammad Ibn Ahmad Al-Biruni *al-Khwarizmi*.

Al-Biruni's sojourn in Afganistan proved beneficial both for him and for culture and comparative religion in general. The neighbouring country India exercised a strange fascination on Al-Biruni's mind; he longed to visit the mysterious land and to penetrate into its secrets. He, therefore, crossed into India where he stayed for several years teaching the Greek sciences and acquainting himself with Hindu lore. He learnt Sanskrit so that he might go to the sources of Hindu thought. He read with delight the *Bhagavad Gita*, he studied *Samkhya* of Kapila, the book of Patanjali and something of the *Puranas*.

For a Muslim living in those days to study Sanskrit and

things Hindu was not an ordinary thing and no mean achievement. The fruits of Al-Biruni's researches in India are consigned in his well-known *Tarikh-ul-Hind*, *Kitab-ul-Hind* or *Indica*. The book which he has produced is not a polemical one. He will simply describe Hinduism without identifying himself with it. It is like a magic island of quiet, impartial research in the midst of a world of clashing swords, burning towns, and plundered temples.[9] In general, it is his method not to speak himself, but let the Hindus speak, giving extensive quotations from their classical authors. He presents a picture of Indian civilization as painted by the Hindus themselves. "I shall place before the reader the theories of the Hindus exactly as they are", says Al-Biruni in the preface of his blook.[10]

India has seen the reaction of foreigners like Megasthenes, Fa-Hien and Hiuen-Tsang before Al-Biruni and Ibn Batuta, Zahiruddin Mohammad Babur and Francois Bernier after him. The *Indica* of Megasthenes has not been preserved in the original and is accessible to us only through quotations found in the writings of later Greek and Latin writers. These writers would hardly quote a passage correctly and never let a passage go without their own comments and embellishments thereon. There is, therefore, every reason to think that all that is given by them in the name of Megasthenes is not from his pen at all. Secondly, all the classical accounts are full of generalizations, and the customs of one area has sometimes been ascribed to the whole of India. Lastly, he was too fond of credulous stories and "travellers' tales"; indeed, no amount of the marvellous was incredible to him. Fa-Hien, too, believed that Asoka commissioned genii to construct his palace at Pataliputra. Also, his observations like one that throughout India people killed no living thing nor drank wine, nor did they eat garlic or onions, with the exception of *Chandalas*, betray light-hearted approach and superficiality. Hiuen-Tsang endeared himself to the elite of the society and almost became one with them; hence, we miss scientific analysis and objectivity in his accounts. It is impossible to reconcile his statements like these : "He (Harsha) forbade the slaughter of any living thing or flesh as food throughout the Five Indies (*i.e.* India) on pain of death without pardon", and "Fish, mutton, gazelle

and deer they eat generally fresh, sometimes salted".[11]

The moorish traveller, Ibn Batuta, who came to India in 1333 A.D. has obviously succumbed to bazar gossips in the narration of facts. The question of an objective study does not arise in his case. Babur and Al-Biruni tried to understand India and they wrote of it with much sympathy and admiration. But the point of view of these two persons were very different. Babur records what he sees or what he hears without enquiring much into "why" of anything. Both do describe the same objects, for instance rhinoceros, or the monkey or physiographical details of India, its rivers, its mountains and many other things, but there is a lot of difference in the final analysis. Babur's picture is like a faithful photograph reproducing the exact contour of the thing; Al-Biruni's picture is an X-ray of the object, less colourful but deeper in its attempt at finding the *raison d'etre* of it all. Babur is interested in facts. Al-Biruni looks for theories and explanations.[12] Of all the European travellers who have recorded their impressions about the East, Bernier's account is most popular and one of the most readable of travellers' accounts ever written. But from his own admission it is clear that although he tapped many sources to obtain information about the country and its people, his knowledge of the facts which he describes was not strictly personal. Moreover, being a highly cultured man, he sometimes finds it impossible to divorce reality from idealism. His eloquent description of the tyranny of Mughal governors, and the discussion of the evils of despotic government, are instances of this type. Naturally he comes to conclusions which are not borne out by the testimony of other contemporary writers. He is obsessed with the superiority of French institutions.

Al-Biruni, the first scientific Indologist and one of the greatest of all times, studied India, Sanskrit and Sanskrit literature not under any pressure or official inducement or encouragement, nor any hope of royal reward. The Hindus and their world of thought have a paramount, fascinating interest for him, and he inquires with greatest predilection into every Indian subject, howsoever heathenish it may be, as though he were treating of the most important questions for the Muslim soul,—of free-will and predestination, of future

reward and punishment, of the creation of eternity of the world of God, etc. To Al-Biruni the Hindus were excellent philosophers, good mathematicians and astronomers. He does not conceal whatever he considers wrong and unpractical with them, but he duly appreciates their mental achievements and takes the utmost pain to appropriate them to himself. Whenever he hits upon something that is noble and grand both in science and in practical life. he never fails to lay it before his readers with warm-hearted words of approbation. In one case he even goes so far as to speak of Hindu scholars as "enjoying the help of God", which to a Muslim means as much as *inspired by God*, or *guided by divine inspiration.*[13] There would be no surprise if Muslims found fault with him for going to such length in his interest for those un-Islamic doctrines.

Al-Biruni's own special religious convictions did not allow him to belittle or minimize the achievements of another people who had developed in a different *milieu.* His mind was singularly free from the narrow religious outlook of an orthodox scriptural religion. Things and notions, practices and ideas current in the Hindu world, which did not have his approval as a man of science and as a man of common sense, he did not look upon as being just 'beastly devices of the heathen'. He manifests a clear anxiety to show that in these matters the Hindus were just human, and he quotes parallel situations from other parts of the world—that of the ancient Greeks, or the early Arabs, for instance. This detachment, or aloofness, or disinterestedness of science, without any *parti pris* through theological or racial bias, is a thing for which every student of Comparative Religion should specially feel grateful to Al-Biruni. The world of science is, of course, under a heavy debt to him. This attitude is certainly more precious than positive scholarship, humanly speaking.[14]

Al-Biruni is a friend of clear, determined, and manly words. He abhors half-truths, veiled words, and wavering action. Everywhere he comes forward as a champion of his conviction with the courage of a man. He is a stern judge both of himself and of others. Himself perfectly sincere, it is sincerity which he demands from others. Whenever he does not fully understand a subject, or only knows part of it, he will at once tell the reader so, either asking the reader's pardon for his igno-

rance, or promising to continue his labours and to publish their results in time as though he were acting under a moral responsibility to the public. He always sharply draws the limits of his knowledge. He is not a friend of those who hesitate to confess their ignorance by a frank *I do not know*.[15] He is roused to strong indignation whenever he meets with want of sincerity. Whenever he suspects humbug, he is not slow in calling it by the right name.

Al-Biruni, one of the most outstanding thought leaders of humanity, is no more but his *Indica* survives, as fresh and full of life as ever, serving as the beacon in the sea of jarring creeds and cultures. If humanity, not religion, is to triumph in the world the study of Comparative Religion should start from where Al-Biruni had left it.

Observation on India

Al-Biruni was always on the lookout for opportunities of increasing his knowledge about the world around him. He was fond of questioning travellers, merchants, and ambassadors about the countries which they knew and which he was unable to visit. He was not actuated by any personal motives, but solely by the desire of knowledge about peoples of various countries and religions different from his own, and that out of pure intellectual curiosity of finding truth, be it pleasant or not. He wanted his efforts to help in the advancement of culture and mutual understanding between peoples. This is clear from the aim he set himself when writing the *Tarikh 'al-Hind*. He was the first scientific Indologist and one of the greatest of all times.

From his immense learning and exact scholarship on the one hand, and his broad liberalism and objectivism on the other, Al-Biruni has to be reckoned among the outstanding thought leaders of humanity. He was not only a master but a creator. Although the scholarship of Al-Biruni is both deep and wide, it is not his sole or main claim to our gratitude. He was something more than an accomplished scholar—he was an accomplished man.

The importance of Al-Biruni's contributions to the more strictly scientific disciplines has tended to obscure the fact that he stands unique in his age, and perhaps unique in the

history of his own faith—the most cosmopolitan or international scholar in the truest sense of the term. Detachment, without any *parti pris* through theological or racial bias, is certainly more precious than positive scholarship, humanly speaking.

Al-Biruni adopted in his research a comparative method which he based on original and reliable information. He set himself as guiding principles to aim at completeness, accuracy and unprejudiced presentation of other faiths. He would use all the available means to that end such as the careful examination of witnesses to ascertain what value their evidence had, and an exacting criticism of the evidence given.

But the obvious is not always the simplest. The attainment of the ideal chosen was fraught with technical difficulties. How, indeed, to explain to the adherents of Islam the more difficult and subtle tenets of a faith totally alien to Islam without betraying or belittling their content and without antagonizing the easily prejudiced reader. Al-Biruni realized all the import of a correct terminology to fulfil his purpose and one of the most laudable achievements in this field is to have endeavoured always to thoroughness and accuracy. Dr. Arthur Jeffery rightly remarks : "It is rare until modern times to find so fair and unprejudiced a statement of the views of other religions, so earnest an attempt to study them in the best sources, and such care to find a method which for this branch of study would be both rigorous and just. Might it be after all that his greatest contribution to learning was not in the field of the more exact sciences but in this field of the sciences of the spirit ?"

Contact with India

In 1017 A.D., Sultan Mahmud invaded Khiva, annexed the land and took as hostages to Ghazna the leading men of Khwarizm. Among them was Sheikh Abu Raihan Al-Biruni.

Al-Biruni's captivity in Afghanistan proved beneficial both for him and for culture in general. The proximity of India exercised a strange fascination on his mind ; he longed to visit the mysterious continent and to penetrate its secret. It opened a new chapter in his life. At Ghazna the Sheikh had his first contact with India in the person of the Indian traders

that had settled there down in the city ; there were also some Brahmins and Pandits, hostages like him perhaps. From them he may have learned the elements of Sanskrit and got a first initiatian to things Indian. He was particularly interested in their beliefs, their chronological system, their knowledge of the stars and the sciences in general.

When in Ghazna, Al-Biruni had the opportunity of visiting India. When exactly and in what circumstances he crossed over to India is not known. In 1030 A.D., or perhaps before, he was back at Ghazna where he wrote his famous *Tahrir (or Tahqiq) ma li 'l-Hind min maqala maqbula fi 'l-'aql ao marzula*, more usually referred as *Tarikh' al-Hind, Kitab' al-Hind* or *Indica*.

Close contact with India developed in Al-Biruni a real love for the country and its venerable culture. Al-Biruni's attitude towards India is in many ways unique in the history of Islam. By education and the force of circumstances he was scarcely prepared to meet the Hindu mind. That in spite of religious prejudice he should have sat at the feet of *Sastris* and *Pandits* in order to learn from them the secrets of Hinduism, shows Al-Biruni's independence of spirit and eagerness for truth. For a Muslim living in the days of Sultan Mahmud, almost under his roof, to study Sanskrit and things Hindu was something very bold and radical. It demanded an exceptional spirit of determination and perseverance and not a little audacity.

Difficulties

It was really a hard task that Al-Biruni had undertaken ; there were difficulties on every side. "Before entering on our exposition", says he, "we must form an adequate idea of that which renders it to particularly difficult to penetrate to the essential nature of any Indian subject. The knowledge of these difficulties will either facilitate the progress of our work, or serve as an apology for any shortcomings of ours."[16]

First, there was the difficulty of language. Sanskrit is by morphology and syntax entirely different from Arabic ; it is a "language of enormous range both in words and inflections." Then there was the distinction between the classical language of the upper class and the colloquial one of the common people with its own idioms and pronuniciation. Add to this the

absence of textbooks for beginners, and the carelessness of the scribes "who do not take pains to produce correct and well-collated copies" of books ; and then the books Al-Biruni wanted were not written in plain prose but according to various metres. "Now it is well known that in all metrical compositions there is much misty and constrained phraseology merely intended to fill up the metre and serving as a kind of patchwork, and this necessitates a certain amount of verbosity."[17]

Secondly, "they totally differ from us in religion", remarks Al-Biruni, "as we believe in nothing in which they believe, and *vice versa*". "Their fanaticism is directed against those who do not belong to them—against all foreigners. 'They call them *mlecchа*, *i.e.* impure, and forbid having any connection with them, be it by intermarriage or any other kind of relationship, or by sitting, eating, and drinking with them, because thereby, they think, they would be polluted."[18] He further observes : "They are not allowed to receive anybody who does not belong to them, even if he wished it, or was inclined to their religion. This, too, renders any connection with them quite impossible, and constitutes the widest gulf between us and them."[19]

Thirdly, "in all manners and usages they differ from us to such a degree as to frighten their children with us, with our dress, and our ways and customs, and as to declare us to be devil's breed, and our doings as the very opposite of all that is good and proper". But Al-Biruni hastens to add : "We must confess, in order to be just, that a similar depreciation of foreigners not only prevails among us and the Hindus, but is common to all nations towards each other".[20] Antagonism towards people considered as uncouth was natural.

Fourthly, the resentment felt by the Indians against foreign invaders was not meant to facilitate cultural contacts. India, indeed, was still bleeding from the depradations of the Sakas and the Hunas. Then came Islam. "The repugnance of the Hindus against foreigners increased more and more when the Muslims began to make their inroads into their country."[21] Succeeding "events planted a deeply rooted hatred in their hearts".[22] Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna "utterly ruined the prosperity of the country, and performed there wonderful

exploits, by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions, and like a tale of old in the mouth of the people. Their scattered remains cherish, of course, the most inveterate aversion towards all Muslims. "This is the reason, too," explains Al-Biruni, "why Hindu sciences have retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us, and have fled to places which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Benares (now Varanasi in Uttar Pradesh), and other places. And there the antagonism between them and all foreigners receives more and more nourishment both from political and religious sources".[23]

Fifthly, the peculiarities of the national character of the Hindus made them look down on people from abroad. Al-Biruni sarcastically remarks : "We can only say, folly is an illness for which there is no medicine, and the Hindus believe that there is no country but theirs, no nation like theirs, no kings like theirs, no religion like theirs, no science like theirs. They are haughty, foolishly vain, self-conceited, and stolid. They are by nature niggardly in communicating that which they know, and they take the greatest possible care to withhold it from men of another caste among their own people, still much more, of course, from any foreigner. According to their belief, there is no country on earth but theirs, no other race of man but theirs, and no created beings besides them have any knowledge or science whatsoever."[24] But the Sheikh justily observes : "Their ancestors were not as narrow-minded as the present generation is."[25]

Lastly, there were limitations placed on Al-Biruni's movements. "A perfectly free disposal of his own doings and goings" was denied to him. "It has never fallen to my lot in my own doings and goings to be perfectly independent, nor to be invested with sufficient power to dispose and to order as I thought best", he complains.[26]

Rightly then could Al-Biruni confess : "I have found it very hard to work my way into the subject, although I have a great liking for it, in which respect I stand quite alone in my time, and although I do not spare either trouble or money in collecting Sanskrit books from places where I supposed they were likely to be found, and in procuring for myself, even from

very remote places, Hindu scholars who understand them and are able to teach me."[27]

Al-Biruni was not the man to accept defeat and give up the ghost in despair. With undaunted courage he gave himself to a serious study of Sanskrit so as to perfect the elementary knowledge he had acquired at Ghazna. His progress in the language was remarkable and he was able to translate works from the Sanskrit into Arabic. Having mastered Sanskrit poetry and its meter he rendered into Sanskrit slokas the *Elements* of Euclid, and the *Almagest* or Ptolemy, his own book on the Astrolable and some twenty other treatises[28]. Al-Biruni's knowledge of Sanskrit might not have been very profound, but it was "wide enough and practical". He could make, intelligent use of the Pandits and Sastris whom he engaged from time to time. The Sheikh could speak with ease in Sanskrit and lecture to the people in their own language about the Greek sciences, mathematics and astronomy. In fact he was so sharp that people thought him to be a sorcerer and compared him to the sea or to "the water which is so acid that vinegar in comparison is sweet."[29]

Al-Biruni stayed in India for several years acquainting himself with Hindu lore. He read with delight the *Bhagavad Gita* ; he studied *Samkhya* of Kapila, the book of Patanjali, some works by Brahmagupta and by Varahamihira and gained a grounding in the Puranas. He quoted abundantly from these works and from others in his writings. The philosophy of India seems to have fascinated his mind. He appears to have revelled in the pure theories of the *Bhagavad Gita*. As a matter of fact it was he who first introduced this gem of Sanskrit literature into the world of Muslim readers. Regarding the Puranas, Al-Biruni was perhaps the first Muslim who took up the study of them. At all events, the Arabs were not acquainted with them before his time.[30]

Approach and Treatment

To Al-Biruni the Hindus were excellent philosophers, good mathematicians and painstaking astronomers. He does not conceal whatever he considers wrong and unpractical with them, but he duly appreciates their mental achievements. Whenever he hits upon something that is noble and grand

both in science and in practical life, he never fails to lay it before his readers with warm-hearted words of approbation. Speaking of the construction of the ponds at holy bathing-places, he says : "In this they have attained a very high degree of art, so that our people (the Muslims), when they see them, wonder at them, and are unable to describe them, much less to construct anything like them.[31]

Apparently Al-Biruni felt a strong inclination towards Indian philosophy. He seems to have thought that the philosophers both in ancient Greece and India, held in reality the very same ideas of a pure monotheism. Originally all men were alike and virtuous, worshipping one sole Almighty God. But passions and greed in the course of time gave rise to the difference of religion, of philosophical and political persuasions, and of idolatory. "The first cause of idolatory was the desire of commemorating the dead and of consoling the living ; but on this basis it has developed, and has finally become a foul and pernicious abuse."[32] He sometimes takes an occasion for pointing out to the reader the superiority of Islam over Brahmanic India. He contrasts the democratic equality of men with the castes of India, the matrimonial law of Islam with degraded forms of it in India, the cleanliness and decency of Muslims with filthy customs of the Hindus. But whenever he speaks of a dark side in Hindu life, he at once turns round sharply to compare the manners of the ancient Arabs, and to declare that the founders of Islam, too, were certainly not angels.[32]

Al-Biruni will not convert the Hindus, nor lend a direct help to missionary zealots. He will simply describe Hinduism, without identifying himself with it. He makes it crystal clear that he himself is not responsible for whatsover repugnant detail he has to relate, but the Hindus themselves. He gives a repertory of information on Indian subjects, destined for the use of those who lived in peaceable intercourse with them, and wished to have an insight into their mode and world of thought[33]. The object which the author had in view, and never for a moment lost sight of, was to afford the necessary information and training to "any one (in Islam) who wants to converse with the Hindus, and to discuss with them questions of religion, science, or literature, on the

very basis of their own civilization"[34]. In general it is the method of Al-Biruni not to speak himself, but to let the Hindus speak, giving extensive quotations from their classical authors. He presents a picture of Indian civilization as painted by the Hindus themselves.[35] His pen pictures are graphic, reliable convincing and objective. The *Indica* is not the outcome of an arrogance of a victor over its conquered, but the urge of an inquisitive and scientific mind to understand the culture and rich heritage of an ancient and hoary civilization. It also explains the causes which led to its decay and decline.

India of Al-Biruni

When Al-Biruni entered India no bonds of friendship existed between the Hindus and their new masters. The Pala dynasty, once ruling over the Panjab and the adjoining areas, had disappeared from the theatre of history, and their former dominions were in the firm grip of Mahmud of Ghazna and under the administration of his Turkish slaves. The princes of North-Western India had been too self-centred, too blind in their self-conceit, and utterly impolitic. They failed to appreciate the gravity of the Muslim menace. They did not unite for the common defence of the country and drive out the intruder. Single-handed Anandapala had to fight it out, and had succumbed. All those who would not bear the brunt of the foreign yoke fled and took up their abode in the neighbouring Hindu empires.[36]

Al-Biruni's India had scarcely been touched by the Faith of Islam, and he saw of it probably only the Panjab and some adjacent districts. Secondly, India, as far as known to Al-Biruni, was Brahmanic, not Buddhistic. In the first half of the eleventh century all traces of Buddhism in Central Asia, Khorasan, Afghanistan, and North-Western India seem to have disappeared. It is remarkable that a man of the inquisitive mind of Al-Biruni hardly knew anything at all about Buddhism. His notes on Buddhism are very scanty, and that too of derivative character. Lastly, India of Al-Biruni was in matters of religion Vaishnavite, not Shaivist. Vishnu, or Naryana, is the first god in the pantheon of his Hindu informants and literary authorities, whilst Shiva is only incidentally mentioned, and that not always in a favourable manner.[38]

While Al-Biruni faithfully holds to facts and is specific and careful in his descriptions, he always understands that both history and science have to go beyond fact and understanding does not emerge from an inventory but from interpretation that is only possible by general principles. He understood that history was far more than a series of events and that any true history had to be history of ideas and institutions. Al-Biruni understood what he was writing about. His report on India is more comprehensive, systematic, and specialized than any preceding report on a foreign land, not except the great records of the early Chinese Buddhist pilgrims Huen Tsang and Fa Hien. The *Indica* of Megasthenes is verbose. Ibn Batutah, Zahiruddin Babur, and Francois Bernier, who wrote subsequently, have failed to scale the heights which Al-Biruni had so well attained.

DOCUMENTATION

1. In the *Al-Biruni Commemoration Volume* brought out by the Iran Society, Calcutta in 1951, Prof. Arthur Jeffery has contributed an article, "Al-Biruni's Contribution to Comparative Religion". Prof. Jeffery has based his extensive and well-conducted study on Al-Biruni's *Indica* and his 'The Chronology of Ancient Nations' (*Asar-ul-Baqiyah*). But Prof. Jeffery's survey is rather general in nature. He has summarised all the information given by Al-Biruni on the great religions of the world and some sects of his days: Hinduism, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, Manichaism, the Greek religion, Judaism, the Samaritan Faith, Christianity, the beliefs of the Sabians and the Khwarizmians, Arabian Paganism and finally Islam. To be fair to Al-Biruni it was India and Hinduism which attracted his best attention and claimed most of his erudition. May be, that "we surely know better than he" about other faiths, but in the case of Hindu religion and culture, Al-Biruni certainly gives some interesting details not to be easily found elsewhere. So it is not only the method which he followed in his investigations and the final presentation of the results arrived at, are of importance to us but also the illuminating facts and figures.
2. The gathering of facts and information about religions other than one's own is very old indeed; instances are found in Mesopotamia and in Greece, among the Romans and even among the Muslims before Al-Biruni (See Al-'Ash' arie's *Maqalat al-Islamiyyin*, and the writings of Al-Ya'qubi and al-Mas'udi and others). This is exactly what Mongol rulers Kublei Khan and the Mughal Emperor Akbar

were doing at their courts. Cf. *Commemoration Volume*, *op. cit.*, Introduction, xxii.

3. I had an occasion to work at the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Montreal, Canada during the year 1961-62 In the Faculty of Divinity of McGill University, there was a regular course in Comparative Religion. Prof. Wilfred-Cantwell Smith used to lead the seminar. On the first day of the term, Prof. Smith posed the question whether a subject like Comparative Religion was at all possible ? All those present, Christians, Muslims, and Hindus, strongly put forth the view that such a study was not possible because, they argued, so long they loved their own religion, it was impossible for them to extol or appreciate another unless they became converts to the new faith. In such a study one's own faith was at the bar. I, for one, consistently contested such an assumption and took the position that such a study was definitely not only possible but also fruitful. While summing up the discussions, Prof. Smith remarked : "Dr. Yasin leaves his religion at the door when he enters the seminar room."
4. Cf. *Alberuni's India*, ed. Edward C. Sachau, Indian Reprint, 1964, *Preface*, I, 5, 7; *Commemoration Volume*, *op. cit.*, Introduction xxii.
5. Eliot & Dowson, *The History af India as Told by its own Historians*, II, London, 1867, p. 2.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.* "*Muhaqqiq*" has been translated as "the exact" which is incorrect. It simply means "researcher".
9. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Preface, xxiii, p. 7.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
11. Ishwari Prasad, *History of India*, Allahabad, 1947, pp. 115, 117.
12. *Commemoration Volume*, *op. cit.*, Introduction, xviii.
13. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Preface, xviii.
14. *Commemoration Volume*, *op. cit.*, p. 84.
15. Al-Biruni himself says : "The Hindus cultivate numerous other branches of science and literature, and have a nearly boundless literature. I, however, could not comprehend it with my knowledge." Sachau, *op. cit.*, I, 159. This modest admission, characteristic of a true scholar, however, should not be taken literally. Al-Biruni was too human not to be interested in the whole of Indian civilization, and he can, without fear of contradiction, conclude his book : "We think now that what we have related in this book will be sufficient for any one who wants to converse with the Hinduism, and to discuss with them questions of religion, science or literature, on the very basis of their own civilization". *Ibid.*, II, 246.

16. Edward C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, I, 17.
17. *Ibid.*; V. Courtois, *Al-Biruni*, pp. 30, 31.
18. Edward C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, I, 19, 20.
19. *Ibid.*, I, 20.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*, I, 21.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*, I, 22.
24. *Ibid.*, I, 22, 23.
25. *Ibid.*, I, 23.
26. *Ibid.*, I, 24.
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Tarikh' al, Hind*, ed. Edward Sachau, London, 1887, Preface, XXI.
29. Cf. V. Courtois, *op. cit.*, 33, 34.
30. E. Sachau, *op. cit.*, I, Preface, XVIII.
31. *Ibid.*, XVII, XVIII ; *Ibid.*, II, 144.
32. *Ibid.*, I, XVIII, 124.
33. *Ibid.*, I, XIX.
34. *Ibid.*, I, XXII, XXIII.
35. *Ibid.*, I, XXIII ; *Ibid.*, II, 246.
36. *Ibid.*, I, XXIV.
37. *Ibid.*, I, XLIII, XLIV.
38. *Ibid.*, I, XLV, XLVII.

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Chapter III

THE SUFI SILSILAHS

The terms "Sufi" and "Sufism" have been wrongly understood and, still more, incorrectly interpreted. According to Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani (Gilani), popularly known in India as *Bare Pir* or "the Great Guide", "The essence of a life of resignation and contentment (*Faqr*) is this that a man does not need the world ; the real wealth consists in having no desire for it. *Tasawwuf* (the theology of the mystics) is not the product of any dialogue or deliberation but of renunciation and abstinence from things beloved and beautiful."[1] Maulana Abul Kalam Azad poses a question : "Who are the Sufis ?" And he himself answers it : "They are the friends of God. They are God-fearing and believing people. In the Quarnic terminology they are the persons who are called *Hizbullah* (God's party), *Ashab-ul-Jannat* (People of the Paradise), and *Ashab al-Maimanah* (the right-hand men). It is a group of righteous persons who long for self-effacement in the way of God. They prefer death for the sake of Truth. They undergo every hardship for it. The Sufis exert every nerve to proclaim the name of God and invite people towards Him. They are the true interpreters and honest custodians of God's holy and sacred commands. Thus their call is the source of world's rectification and betterment and the establishment of a perfect world order of humanity. Every believer who has dissociated himself from devilish desires and obeys God and His Prophet, belongs to the circle of God's friends."[2]

Therefore, the common-place conception that Sufis are the persons who have nothing to do with religion, or even God,

is erraneous. Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi has rightly pointed out :

Har ke khwahad Hamnashini ba khuda,
Woo nashinad dar huzur-i-auliya.

(Anyone who wishes nearness to God ; he sits in the company of His friends).

However, with the development of Greek sciences during the reign of the *Abbasides*, many Muslim philosophers such as Kindi (d. 873 A.D.). Farabi (d. 950 A.D.), Ibn Sina (d. 1036 A.D.), Ibn Maskawaih (d. 1030 A.D.) in the East and Ibn Badja (d. 1138 A.D.), Ibn Tufail (d. 1185 A.D.) and Ibn Rushd (d. 1198 A.D.) of Spain propounded their own philosophical systems. All of them were greatly influenced by Greek philosophy. Like *Mu'tazillah* they too made reason the absolute criterion for good and bad and true knowledge. They tried their best to establish harmony between religion and philosophy. Some of them crossed the boundary of Islam and preached theories which were foreign to it.[3] But the essence of mysticism was not foreign to Islam. Its seed was sown during the lifetime of Prophet Mohammad, when a group of people known as *Ahl-i-Safa* were leading a life of devotion and piety, withdrawn from worldly cares and anxieties. The saints of this period laid great stress on the principle of trust in God (*Tawakkul*). They were, however, inspired by Quranic conception of a transcendent God. By the end of the second century of *Hijra*, Sufism had become a monotheistic theosophy, of which fear of God and concern for the day of judgement became the chief characteristics. Rabi'ah, the mystic (d. 776 A.D.) and Zunnun Misri (d. 859 A.D.) propounded the doctrine of 'love' in mysticism. The celebrated Persian mystic, Bayazid of Bistam (d. 876 A.D.), played an important role in the development of Sufism. He introduced the doctrine of ecstasy and the mystic doctrine of the immanence of God. For the first time in Islamic mysticism, he employed the word *fana* (the annihilation of the self), which later became the basis of Sufi theosophy.

Ibn Mansur al-Hallaj (d. 921 A.D.) carried further the development of the doctrines of Bayazid. His mystical formula, *Anal Haq* (I am God) served as the inspiration and basis for

the writings of Ibn al-'Arabi and 'Abdul Karim Jili, in their treatment of the nature of "The Perfect Man" (*Insan-i-Kamil*) during later centuries.

These mystical doctrines of Bayazid and Mansur al-Hallaj made Sufism objectionable in the eyes of orthodox theologians. Many innovations crept into the tenets of Islam. The so-called Sufis brought about a cleavage between *Shari'at* (Islamic Law) and *Tariqat* (Mystic Path). It was later on that al-Ghazzali (1058-1111 A.D.), Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani (1077-1166 A.D.) and Shaikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi (1145-1234 A.D.) not only reconciled the divergent tendencies of Islamic mystcism but also won recognition for a sober Sufism among the representatives of orthodox theology and religious law.[4]

In India the development of the Muslim religious thought in the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries took place on the lines chalked out by Imam al-Ghazzali and Shaikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi. The outstanding contributions of al-Ghazzali and Shaikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi, viz., *Ihva-ul-Ulum* and *Kimiya-i-Sa'adat* of the former and *'Awarif-ul-Ma'arif* of the latter were very popular among the Indian Muslim mystics. That men imbued with Sufi doctrines early came to India, there cannot be slightest doubt. No matter where one goes in India one finds Sufi influences powerful and active, fostered, no doubt to a great extent, by the similar pantheistic doctrines that abound in Indian religious thought, which provide a very congenial atmosphere for their growth. But it may be noted that though Sufism is found so extensively, it is not the religion of a sect. It is rather a natural revolt of the human heart against the cold formalism of religion. It is an attitude of mind and heart towards God and the problems of life.[5]

While Sufis have never been regarded as a separate sect of Muslims, they have nevertheless tended to gather themselves around men of piety and spiritual gifts, and form themselves into religious orders (*The Silsilahs*). These have taken on special forms of organization, so that today there are a great number of such orders, which all belong to Sunni Muslims. New orders may arise at any time, and old orders may be

divided and subdivided again and again, as new saints with some special gifts of spiritual power arise.

Of the many religious orders that have arisen in the world of Sunni Islam, India early became the hospitable home for a large number. Abul Fazl mentions fourteen orders or families (*khandan*), which he says were common in his time.[6] The differences among various orders consist chiefly in a sense of personal loyalty to the founders of the orders and the peculiar practices which they enjoined on their followers. However, membership is not necessarily limited to one order, and, as often happens, a Muslim may adopt the teachings and practices of several *darwesh* orders without in any way affecting his original religious and social standing in his community. Again, it does not follow that all Sufis are necessarily members of a religious order, nor it is proper to assume that all initiates of a *darwesh* order are Sufis. Nevertheless, there is a close and fundamental connection between the views of Sufis and the religious orders, so much so that the latter could not have come into being without the former.

The government of the order or fraternity centres in the *pir*, who is also called *murshid* or *shaikh*, he is either an appointed or hereditary successor to the position of authority, and is variously designated as *khalifah* or *sajjadah nashin*. On him devolves the duty of regulating the functions of the members (also called *murids*), of passing on the divine knowledge of the order, maintaining its practices, and of initiating new *murids* as they seek admission to the fraternity.

The religious orders, through which Sufi doctrines and practices were brought into India, have a long history. Out of the country from beyond the north-west frontier, and from Iraq, came the missionaries of these orders, the first one arriving towards the close of the twelfth century. They brought with them the fervour, devotion, and piety begotten of long contact and discipleship with spiritual leaders in those lands, and the best that they had learnt from a long experience in travellings, fastings, and pilgrimages to shrines of the saints and to holy Mecca. They easily won the favour of the multitudes, while numbers of their spiritual successors became influential guides of sovereigns, not only in spiritual but in political affairs as well. They were the embodiments of

austerity, affection, and a life without any blemish. It is noteworthy that the individual souls, restless for peace or in agony due to troubles of life, hailing from the cross-sections of the society and belonging to various denominations, flocked to them for the peace of soul or material prosperity. As a matter of fact, they delivered the message of Islam in India—an Islam, which stood for equality, brotherhood, untouchability, no distinction on the basis of caste or colour. The religiously bewildered and socially confused Indian mind look upon these holy personages as saviours. It also started a process of social rapprochement and philosophical synthesis among various sections of the Indian population. These saints, during their life, enjoyed popular and royal favour ; and after death their tombs became places of pilgrimages for multitudes of devout Muslims of all classes and Hindus from various shades of the society. They have continued to draw enormous crowds of devotees all through the succeeding centuries. Today, they stand as symbols of one United India nationally and emotionally both.

THE SILSILAHS

Chistiah Order

The oldest of the *darwesh* fraternities in India is the Chishti order, which traces its origin to Khwaja Abu Abdal Chishti, who died in 966 A.D. It was introduced into India by Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti. Khwaja Muinuddin was born in Sajistan (Sistan), a southern district of Afghanistan, in 1142 A.D. He later moved with his parents to Khurasan, and afterwards to Haron in Nishapur, where he became the disciple of Khwaja Usman Chishti Haruni. After more than twenty years of discipleship, he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. Then he made a journey through Iraq and Persia, during which he made the acquaintance of many noted Sufis, such as Shaikh Mohiuddin Abdul Qadir Jilani and Khwaja Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki of Ush, who became one of his disciples. Finally, his travels brought him back to Herat, Balkh and Ghazni. He then reached India in 1192 A.D. with the army of Sultan Shihabuddin Mohammad Ghori. He stayed in Delhi for some time. At the age of fifty-two, in the year 1195 A.D., he permanently settled in Ajmer until his death in 1236 A.D.[7]

It is true that some Chishti saints came to India before Shaikh Muinuddin, but the credit of establishing the Chishti order in India goes to him. His arrival in India marks the beginning of the era of liberal Islam which survives even today in spite of the partition of the country in political frenzy and personality cult.

The spiritual descendants of Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti have been among the most famous saints of India. Khwaja Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki of Ush, near Baghdad, reached Delhi in the reign of Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish, who cordially welcomed him. It was due to the efforts of Khwaja Qutbuddin that the centre of Chishti order was established at Delhi. He died in the same year as that of his master Muinuddin and lies buried near the Qutb Minar.

Shaikh Fariduddin Masud Ganj-i-Shakar (also Shakarganj), popularly known as Baba Farid, was born in 1175 A.D. at Kahotwal near Multan in the Punjab. He died in 1265 A.D., at the age of ninety-five, at Ajodhan, the present Pak Pattan. Baba Farid's monastery (*Khanqah*) was open to all irrespective of caste or creed. Rich and poor, officials and non-officials, old and young, were received in the same way. A stream of visitors flowed to the monastery every day, but Baba Farid never tired of it. He attended to the problems of every visitor individually and tried his best to remedy his grievances. His long life was devoted to the upliftment of humanity from sin and superstition. He furnished the society of his day with an infinite moral force which removed the social, ideological and linguistic barriers between the various religious groups of India. He was succeeded by two famous disciples, Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya of Delhi, and Hazrat Makhdum Alauddin Ali Ahmad Sabir.

Mohammad bin Ahmad Danyal bin Ali Bukhari, better known as Shaikh Nizammuddin Auliya, was born in Badaun, Uttar Pradesh, on 9th October, 1238 A.D and died in 1325 A.D. The Shaikh was just a child of five, when his father died. It was his mother, Bibi Zulaikha, who brought him up. Bibi Zulaikha was a lady of fervent piety. She was his first teacher and her influence proved the most lasting. It was she who kindled the spark of Divine love in him, which later moulded his entire being and dominated his thought and action. Shaikh

Nizammuddin, even in his later life, used to visit the tomb of his mother whenever in distress to attain solace. Shaikh Nizammudin developed an attachment to Shaikh Fariduddin Ganj-i-Shakar very early in life, at the age of twelve. He left for Delhi for his higher studies at the age of sixteen. He was initiated by Baba Farid in 1257 A.D. Shaikh Nizammuddin was a living personification of those moral principles and precepts which he taught to the people. There was the force of his example behind every ethical principle which he expounded. He was the cynosure of public eyes. People visited him from far and near and basked in the sun-shine of his spiritual favours. He possessed all those qualities of head and heart which are indispensable in building up an organization. The Chishti order reached its zenith under his able guidance. His disciples set up Chishti mystic centres in practically every important part of the country. During his life he enjoyed the society of many eminent contemporaries, some of whom became his disciples. The most noted of these were the poets Amir Khusrau and Amir Hasan Dihlawi and the historian Ziauddin Barani. The Shaikh adopted an attitude of contemtuous indifference towards the rulers. With zeal, undivided attention and singleness of purpose, he served the Chishti order and worked for the betterment of humanity at large. The conquerors excited the fury of the Indian people; the saints, with their unsullied character, purest morals and intense love for mankind cooled down their temper, and imparted a new life to them.

Hazrat Makhdum Alauddin Ali Ahmad Sabir, the second disciple of Shaikh Fariduddin Ganj-i-Shakar to become his successor, was born at Kahotwal, near Multan on 19th *Rabi-ul-awwal.* 553 A.H. (1105 A.D.) and died in 1291 A.D. He acquired a great reputation for piety. He was given the title of *Sabir* (the Patient) by Shaikh Fariduddin because for twelve years he was the incharge of the free kitchen (*Langar*) run by the Shaikh but did not eat even a morsel out of it. His tomb is just north of Roorkee at Kaliar in Saharanpur, U.P.

Hazrat Nizamundin Auliya left on his *Khalifah* Shaikh Nasiruddin Mohammad Chiragh-i-Dihli (the Lamp of Delhi). He was born in Avadh and died in Delhi in 1356 A.D. When he was nine years of age his father died and he was brought

up by his mother. Shaikh Nasiruddin was a man of patience, vigil and penitence. Once he submitted the following request to his director, Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya through Amir Khusrau "I cannot absorb myself in the remembrance of God in the midst of people; I should be given permission for absorbing myself in the remembrance of God in seclusion". "Nasiruddin you have to live in Delhi in the midst of people", the director answered, "and have to endure the hardships and sufferings inflicted by them."[8] The poet Hamid Qalandar, a disciple of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya, had a close intimacy with Shaikh Nasiruddin. He collected the sayings of Shaikh Nasiruddin and named it *Khair-ul-Majalis*, which conveys to us the ideas of Shaikh Nasiruddin. The chief feature of the thought of Shaikh Nasiruddin is the expression of his own experience. He supports his experiences in the light of the *Quran* and the *Hadis*.

There followed a long line of saints in this order, who became so well known that the Chishti fraternity spread far and wide. One of the most important of these later saints was Shaikh Salim Chishti. He exerted a great deal of influence on the lives of the Mughal Emperors of India and the royal families of his time. Prince Salim, afterwards Jahangir, was born in his house, the result of the Shaikh's prayers and blessings, and henceforth Akbar became a great devotee of the saint.

During the two centuries following the death of Shaikh Salim Chishti in 1572 A.D., the Chishti movement somewhat experienced a period of decay, which became marked by the eighteenth century. Towards the close of that century a revival of the order throughout the Punjab and Sind was led by Khwaja Nur Mohammad Qiblah-i-'Alam, who was by ancestry a Rajput, and not of Sayyid origin, as had been the case of the former great leaders of the fraternity. This is one more proof of the Indianization of Islam in the sub-continent; and secondly, it shows that Sufism became a mass movement. Attention should be paid to the tendency of the order to subdivide, a characteristic that is not uncommon in the history of religious orders. So Hazrat Makhdum Alauddin Ali Ahmad Sabir, though a disciple of Shaikh Fariduddin Ganj-i-Shakar and belonged to the Chishtiah order, is also the founder of a

Silsilah called *Sabiriah* after him and his followers are known as *Sabiris*. Shaikh Abdul Quddus of Gangoh (d. 1537 A.D.) gave a new life to this order and it was also preached and propagated outside India. Similarly, Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya founded the *Nizamiah* order and the followers of Hazrat Nizamuddin and his successors are designated as *Nizamis*. It is to be noted that while tracing the family tree, they style it as *Chishtiah Sabiriah* or *Chishti Sabiri* and *Chishtiah Nizamiah* or *Chishti Nizami*.

The Suhrawardi Order

Following the appearance of the Chishti order in India, the next *darwesh* fraternity to be introduced in India was the Suhrawardi order, which was sponsored by Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariah. Shaikh Bahauddin was born in the Fort Kot Krore, near Multan. He received his early education at his home. After the death of his father, at the age of eleven, he went to Khorasan for further studies and remained there for seven years. He then proceeded to Bokhara where he completed his formal education and attained a high reputation as a scholar. From there he proceeded to Mecca and for fifty-three years he served as an attendant at the tomb of Prophet Mohammad. He then came to Baghdad where he was initiated into the order by Shaikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi (1144-1234 A.D.), the founder of the order, who was himself a contemporary of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani, founder of the Qadiri order.

Shaikh Shihabuddin bestowed upon Shaikh Bahauddin his robe (*khirqah*) and deputed him as his *Khalifah* in India for the work of preaching and guidance. He took up his abode at Multan. He discharged his duties so well that not only the people of Multan embraced Islam in large numbers, but people from Sind and Baluchistan thronged to him. It is for this reason that Baba Farid named the regions of Multan, Sind and Baluchistan as the territory of Bahauddin Zakariah.[9]

His work was carried on by one of his disciples, Sayyid Jalaluddin Surkh Bokhari (1199-1291 A.D.), who was born in Bokhara, and settled in Uch, Sind. He was succeeded as *Khalifah* by his grandson, Sayyid Jalaluddin Bokhari bin Ahmad Kabir, commonly known as Makhdum Jahaniyan Jahangasht. He

was born at Uch in 707 A.H. and died at the age of seventy-eighth years in 785 A.H. (1384 A.D.). He travelled widely and visited Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Balkh, Bokhara and Khorasan and that is why he was called *Jahangasht*. He performed pilgrimage to Mecca several times, some say thirty-six times. While in India he spent most of his time at Uch. Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq had a great respect for the saint. Makhdum Jahaniyan was very particular about the *Shariat* and used to denounce things and acts outside its domain.[10]

The Shattari Order

The third of the major orders in India is the Shattari, more correctly *Shuttari*. This order was introduced into India from Persia by Shaikh Sirajuddin Abdullah Shattari, who passed away in Malwa in 1406 A.D. The Mughal Emperor Humayun received his spiritual instruction from one of the leaders of this order, Sayyid Mohammad Ghaus, who was buried in 1562 A.D. at Gwalior, where Akbar raised a magnificent tomb in his honour. One of his leading disciples, Shaikh Wajihuddin Gujarati (d. 1589), is buried at Ahmadabad. At Meerut we find a tomb built by Nur Jahan Begum to the memory of Shah Pir, who died in 1632 A.D. In Lahore, two Shattari saints, Shah 'Inayat Qadiri Shattari and Shaikh Fath Shah Shattari, are buried. The great Punjabi poet and saint, Bullhe Shah, was one of the Khalifahs of Shah 'Inayat.[11]

The Qadiri Order

The fourth religious order to find entrance into the religious life of Indian Islam was the well-known Qadiri order, so named from its founder, Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani, whose tomb is at Baghdad. This famous saint is highly regarded throughout India, and frequently goes by the titles, Pir Dastgir, or Pir-i-Piran, as well as other honorific names. Shrines are erected to secure his beneficient assistance. His nuptial ceremony, *'urs*, is widely celebrated on the eleventh of the month, *Rabi-us-sani*. Though the founder died in 1166 A.D., the order was not introduced into India until more than three hundred years later. In 1482, Sayyid Bandagi Mohammad Ghaus, one of his descendants, took up his residence in Sind, at Uch. He died in 1517 A.D. One of the most important of his descendants was

Shaikh Mir Mohammad, or Miyan Mir, especialiy distinguished because of the fact that he was the spiritual guide of Prince Dara Shikoh, son of Shah Jahan. The biography of this saint, under the title *Sakinat-ul-Auliya*, was written by his royal disciple. Miyan Mir passed away in Lahore in 1635 A.D., where his tomb is still a well preserved object of veneration. Some of the descendants of Pir Dastgir, through their ancestor Mohammad Ghaus, have been canonized as patron saints of certain industrial castes or guilds in the Punjab and Kashmir.

It may be noted that a determining factor in the success of this and other similar Orders was their faithful adherence to the religious laws and practices (*Shari'at*), and their strong condemnation of antinomianism and incarnationist tendencies. The teachings of the Qadiri order are firmly based on the *Quran* and *Hadis*; the religious exercises it recommends are unobjectionable.[12]

The Naqshbandi Order

The fifth, and last, of the great religious orders to be introduced into India is known as the Naqshbandiyah, which was founded by Khwaja Bahauddin Naqshband of Turkistan, who died in 1389 A.D., and was buried near Bokhara. This order was introduced into India by Khwaja Mohammad Baqi Billah, who died in 1603, and whose tomb is at Delhi. But the greatest popularity was given to this order by Imam Rabbani Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani Shaikh Ahmad Faruqi Sarhindi, who died in 1624 A.D. Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi is regarded as the Regenerator of the Second Millenium. He is the father of religio-political reform movement in Indian Islam. This order may be regarded as an anti-thesis of the earlier orders because it was very orthodox in its preachings and practices. Emperor Jahangir came under the influence of the Mujaddid and Shah Jahan was one of his disciples. His son and *Khalifah* Khwaja Mohammad Masum, exercised great influence over Aurangzeb.[13]

The religious orders that have just been discussed are known as *ba-Shara'* (with the law) orders, because of the fact that their followers observe the customary Islamic practices of fasting, prayer, and the like, and consequently are in a better

standing with the world of Islam than are the *beShara'* (without the law) orders, whose followers in many cases are but Muslims in name. Nevertheless, this second group, which is without the law, influences a very large multitude and are widely found throughout the country.[14]

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Chapter IV

INDO-ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE

Architecture

The architecture of an age is moulded by the spirit of that age and bears the impress of the builders. There can be no great piece of architecture without a mind with imagination behind it ; no culture without a psychology, and no civilization without a soul. A flatterer's pen might extol the weaknesses of his benefactor, but the architectural remains of a particular period are the mute witnesses testifying to the general character, psychology and taste of the people or the individual, who inspired it. A ruler reflects himself in the buildings he erects. With the advancement of civilization, imagination gradually becomes weaker and poorer, and that is why there are buildings beautified ten times more than the Taj but lacking its subtle grace and sublime majesty.

Indo-Muslim Style

The advent of Islam into India marks a revolution in more than one aspect. It rang out the old and heralded the dawn of a new era. Never before in the history of the world people of two creeds, radically opposed to one another in culture and civilization, ideals and tastes, came into contact as was the case in India when Hinduism and Islam met together. It is one of the interesting facts of history, and most remarkable in the history of architecture, that they were harmonised in a happy synthesis and evolved a distinct style of their own, known as Indo-Muslim or Indo-Islamic. The history of Indo-Muslim architecture begins with the conquest of the kingdoms of Delhi, Ajmer and Kannauj, and in fact the whole of

Northern India by the Muslims between 1193 to 1206 A.D. On the ruins of old Indraprastha and Lalkot (old Delhi capital of Prithvi Raj) blossomed an imperial city with mosques, minars and palaces built by Hindu masons to suit the taste and requirements of the new race. The style was essentially Hindu with a thin Muslim garb, an indifferent 'physical compound' bearing traces both of the old and the new so far the general plan, surface decoration, roofing and other embellishments were concerned, reflecting the character of the conquerors of an alien faith and of a different civilization.

Architecture is one of those subjects whose content is difficult to define, but in spite of this everybody has ideas, more or less hazy, as to what the word implies. It is obviously something more than mere building, though not, as some would appear to think, only concerned with buildings of the first class. The only reason therefore why all building is not architecture is that we are not yet willing or able, as the Greeks appear to have been, to make it so.[1]

It is "imagination" which converts mere building into architecture. "For like anything else done for the amelioration of life", says Butler, "the object of architecture is to give satisfaction"[2]. A building appeals to the imagination of the beholder. But the quality of the appeal to the imagination is an aesthetic one. The building, however humble, however old, however new, however large or small, whatever its purpose may be, must make its appeal to the imagination as a thing of beauty.[3]

Which buildings of the world make most strongly this appeal to the aesthetic imagination, which buildings, that is to say, are considered the best architecture, will vary to a certain extent from time to time, according as the individual and racial imagination varies. In every age and country racial ambitions and feelings, like the other local conditions of religion, country, climate, available materials and the varying usages of civilization, have helped to determine the forms architecture has taken.[4]

Tradition in building has been described as crystallized reasoning. Such tradition, such reasoning, that is to say, may or may not be logical and valid today. To discover this one must consider a little how the traditional forms came about and

what were the desires and ideals to which they answered. Some of the needs, spiritual or physical, to which past architecture answered may not exist today but, whether that is so or not, the methods by which they were expressed have value. To judge fairly any past work of architecture these needs, must be known. They are the programme which the designers had before them. Although for its final and ultimate appeal to the imagination as a piece of abstract form it may not be necessary to appreciate that programme in all its detail, it is very necessary to understand it in order to grasp the evolution of architectural forms and to see how they have changed from age to age, crystallizing on the way into what are called the styles.[5]

Muslim Architecture

Some Western critics enjoy attributing the splendour of Muslim architecture to Byzantian and other Christian sources, thus dubbing the whole product as of derivative character. The prototype of the later mosques according to Dieulafoy and some other writers holding similar opinions, is found in the Praetorium of Phaena, now known as Mismiyyah situated between Damascus and Basra built in 169 A.D. Others with more fertile imagination attributed the origin of the horse-shoe arch to Christian Armenia. The *Mihrab* or the Prayer-niche is supposed to have been derived from the vaults and domes of the Coptic Red Convent at Sohaj. M. Saladin thinks that the Arabs borrowed ideas of massing, grouping and monumental planning from the ancient temples of Thebes and those of the Upper Nile. Rivoira ascribes all the Sassanian knowledge of vaulting to Roman sources. But these people who agree only in denying any credit to the Muslims, disagree most violently among themselves as to the common source of Muslim architecture.[6]

Before they entered Hindustan, the Muslims, in their various lands of adoption, built their mosques, *madrasas* and mausoleums by experimenting with those traditions and materials which the new land provided, and in doing this they showed both adaptibility and originality. With all this borrowing from the various architectural motives and craftsmen of different countries, they were able to create an unmistakable

style of architecture styled as "Islamic" or "Saracenic" which can easily be recognized.

Indian Architecture

"The history of architecture is not, as Fergusson thought, the classification of buildings in archaeological water-tight compartments according to arbitrary academic ideas of style", says Havell, "but a history of national life and thought". "The first duty of the historian of Indian architecture is to realise for himself the distinctive qualities which constitute its Indianness, or its value in the synthesis of Indian life."[7] Havell believes that for the vital creative impulse which inspired any period of Indian art, whether it be Buddhist, Jain, Hindu or Muslim, one will only find its source in the traditional Indian culture planted in Indian soil by Aryan philosophy, which reached its highest artistic expression before the Mughal dynasty was established and influenced the greatest works of the Muslim period as much as any others. The Muslims made use of "Hindu genius to glorify the faith of Islam."[8] One may appreciate the sentiments of Havell but they do not stand the test of history.

Similarly, Fergusson's analysis of Indo-Muslim architecture also to some extent suffers from pro-Muslim prejudice. He declares, "there is no trace of Hinduism in the works of Jahangir and Shahjahan."[9] To say that between Hindu and Muslim ideals there is a great gulf fixed, and the zenith of Muslim architecture was only reached by throwing off the Hindu influences which affected the "mixed" style of Indo-Muslim art, is again a denial of history.

Indo-Muslim Architecture

"Seldom in the history of mankind has the spectacle been witnessed of two civilizations, so vast and so strongly developed, yet so radically dissimilar as the Muhammadan and Hindu", remarks John Marshal, "meeting and mingling together". "The very contrasts which existed between them, the wide divergences in their culture and their religions, make the history of their impact peculiarly instructive and lend an added interest to the art and above all to the architecture which their united genius called into being."[10]

The origins of the Indo-Muslim style are enveloped in obscurity on account of the absence of any Muslim monuments built between 1000 A.D. down to the close of the 9th decade of the twelfth century. The Ghaznavides ruled Lahore for a little less than two hundred years and there must have been built some mosques and palaces during this period. But neither history nor archaeology throw any light on them.

The Ghorids were comparatively a less civilized people and no monuments of note have come down to us. It is, however, a common fact of history that by the 12th century A.D. Muslim architecture had become a fully developed art in Central Asia and Persia. Facts are on record that Indian masons had been taken to Ghazni by Sultan Mahmud and therefore, Hindu tradition of architecture must have migrated outside India before the Muslims entered it.

The history of Indo-Muslim architecture historically begins with the Muslim conquest of Northern India between 1193-1206 A.D. There arose on the ruins of *Lalkot* (Old Delhi : capital of Prithvi Raj) an imperial city embellished with mosques, minars and palaces built by Hindu masons to suit the taste of the new race of conquerors and in style essentially Hindu with thin Muslim garb. But every vestige of the great palaces like *Qasr-i-Sabz*, *Qasr-i-La'l* and *Qasr-i-Sufed* of the early Sultans of Delhi as mentioned by Hasan Nizami (*Taj-ul-Maa'sir*) and Minhaj-us-Siraj (*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*), has been lost since then.

Qutbuddin Aibak ruled as the Viceroy of Sultan Shihabuddin Mohammad Ghori down to 1206 A.D. and thereafter for four years more as an independent Sultan. Qutbuddin was not only the founder of the Sultanat of Delhi but also of Indo-Muslim architecture.

So far as general features of new style are concerned, the arch and the dome were major contributions of Islam to the development of Indian architechture. Besides, the Hindus excelled in fine workmanship particularly sculpture and the Muslims distinguished themselves in calligraphy and geometric designs.

Havell Criticised

The archaeological experts have divided themselves into

two main groups : one, admitting the Indo-Muslim school of architecture as a distinct style; and the other, whose chief exponent is Havell, holding that there is no such thing as Indo-Muslim style, and what the new-comers brought with themselves was almost "a return wave" of Buddhist-Hindu traditions, which the Indian master-builders readily recognised as their own. The new elements ceased as creative forces, and were submerged into different local phases of Indian architecture. But it is a common fact of history that by the twelfth century A.D., Muslim architecture had become a fully developed art in Central Asia and Persia before it entered the soil of Hindustan. Muslims had a "natural talent" for building, and possessed a highly developed architecture of their own. They had their mosques in Egypt, Baghdad, Cardova, Constantinople and Damascus, with pointed arches and lofty domes which served as models for Indian builders. The Muslim conquerors were not unacquainted with the elements of architecture, nor were they mere soldiers devoid of culture and refinement, as Havell would suggest.

Quwwat-ul-Islam Mosque

The construction of Jami' Masjid Quwwat-ul-Islam with Screen of Arches was begun by Qutbuddin Aibak in 1195 A.D. on the ruins of Qila Rai Pithaura. Raised on a lofty plinth and approached through gateways set in three of its sides, its plan is typical of the majority of mosques. Seen from within or without the building as originally designed, presented an essentially Hindu appearance.[11] The original mosque was found too small for the expanding Imperialism of Islam and was later on extended by Sultan Shamsuddin Eletmish, Balban and Alauddin Khilji.

The only relics of the mosque worthy of admiration are the Screen Arches in the direction of *Qilbah* and the tomb of Eletmish—built of red sandstone and profusely decorated with relief work—behind it.

The celebrated *Arhai-din-ka Jhonpra* (two-and-a-half day's hut) mosque at Ajmer was built by Qutbuddin Aibak in 1200 A.D. It was subsequently beautified by Eletmish by a screen. In carrying out these works the Indian craftsmen surpassed their masters. "Nothing in Cairo or in Persia is so exquisite

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in detail, and nothing in Spain or Syria can approach them (the mosques at Delhi and Ajmer)", says Fergusson, "for beauty of surface decoration."[12]

Qutb Minar

The mighty and magnificent Qutb Minar or the Tower of Victory, is all that remains today of the first capital of Islam in India. Qutbuddin Aibak started its construction and it was finished by Eletmish.[13] It is so much Hindu in feelings and design that the archaeologists were long puzzled over its origin.

Origin and Authorship of Qutab Minar

Throughout the last quarter of the nineteenth century a heated controversy raged over the origin and authorship of the Qutb Minar. Scholars like Cooper and Sleemann maintained the alleged Hindu origin of this great tower. But a strong stimulus was provided when Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, a well-informed orientalist, put forward before the world that this splendid fabric was the creation of Rai Pithaura or Prithvi Raj. Sir Sayyid played the role of a true historian and it does credit to the catholicity of his heart and unbiased outlook. Major-General A. Cunningham[14] and Walter Ewer[15] have fully refuted the arguments of Sir Sayyid supporting the Hindu origin of the Minar. But it is interesting to note that Sir Sayyid Ahmad had already modified his own views in the second edition of *Asar-us-Sanadid* (Newal Kishore Press, 1895) which was published in his life-time as he died in 1898 at Aligarh. He subscribed to the view that the Qutb Minar "was a minar of the Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque built by Eletmish."[16]

Another Controversy

The controversy seemed to have subsided with the dawn of the present century establishing the Muslim origin of the Qutb Minar. But another controversy continued as to whom should the authorship of the Minar be ascribed to Qutbuddin Aibak or to Sultan Eletmish, his protege and successor ? The official viewpoint elicited a compromise between the two and held that the construction of the minar was begun by Qutbuddin Aibak, and Eletmish finished it. Still some historians come

forward with a theory to support the Hindu origin of the Qutb Minar.

Conception underlying construction

The Buddists are known to us as great tower-builders. To use the Buddhist language, 'Jaya Stambha', or the 'tower of victory' was also adopted by Jains to commemorate their exploits. According to some, Hindus excelled in a class of monuments to which the Qutb Minar belongs. But even Havell, a staunch upholder of the Buddhist-Hindu traditions in art and architecture, goes only to the extent of regarding the Qutb Minar 'a saracenic modification of the Indian type, of which the two towers at Chittor are the best extant examples'. He nevertheless accepts that the tower of Qutb-uddin was a *mazanah* having no connection with the adjacent mosque. But the truth must be searched out of the narrow province of the Hindu or Buddhist art traditions.

Every mosque has its necessary adjunct, minars, attached or detached, from where the *muazzin* should summon the faithful for prayer. Vincent A. Smith (*History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*) regards the Qutb Minar as a detached minar of the Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque, which subsequently came to be regarded as the tower of victory proclaiming the might of Islam as a new force and a potent factor in the lands of the infidels. "The minaret". as Sir George Birdwood observes, "is the one original feature the Saracens contributed to architecture."[17] Commenting on the Qutb Minar, Mr. Surendra Nath Sen remarks : "The minar is so obviously Islamic in style and character that we may safely dismiss the story of Rajput origin as absolutely unfounded."[18]

Essentially Islamic

Therefore we have reasons to subscribe to the views expressed by Fergusson and John Marshall when they hold the Qutb Minar to be the most perfect example of a tower known to have existed anywhere. The whole conception of the minar, and almost every detail of its construction and decoration, is essentially Islamic. Towers of this kind were unknown to the Indians, but to the Muslims they had long been familiar whether as *Mazanahs* attached to the mosque or as pre-stand-

ing towers like those at Ghazni. Today the only monuments of note that are known to survive at Ghazni are the tomb of Mahmud the Great and two minars or the towers of victory, the one erected by Mahmud himself and the other by one of his successors, Masud. For us the minars are especially interesting as being the prototypes of the Qutb Minar and analogous to the towers of Damghan in Persia and Mujdah and Tauq in Mesopotamia. The towers at Chittor and Mandu, erected at a later date, are but poor imitations of the Qutb Minar in planning and characteristic features. As far as the Qutb Minar is concerned, the calligraphic inscriptions and elaborate stalactite corbelling beneath the balconies, both of which can be traced back to kindred features in the antecedent architecture of Western Asia and Egypt, are equally distinctive of Muslim art and do not form only a patch-work on the outer surface of the minar and hence not an after-thought.

Objects of construction

The objects underlying the construction of this lofty column, called Qutb Minar, according to A. Cunningham, are two fold. The first Muslim conquerors were an energetic race, whose conceptions were as bold and daring as their actions. When the zealous Muslim looked on the great city of Delhi, the metropolis of the princely Tomars and the haughty Chauhans his first wish would have been to humble the pride of the infidel; his second, to exalt the religion of the Prophet. To attain both of these objects, the Muslims built this lofty column from whose summit the *Muazzin's* call to prayer could be heard on all sides by Hindus as well as by Muslims. This noble monument also towered majestically over the loftiest house in the city. Some writers express doubt as to whether this minar served the purpose of a *Mazanah*. Mr. Surendra Nath Sen argues that the very height of the minar rendered it useless for the purpose of a *Mazanah*. But the fact that the Qutb Minar was actually used as a *Mazanah* might be inferred from the statement of Shams-Siraj 'Afif who, about 1380 A.D., records that the magnificent minar in the Jama 'Masjid of Old Delhi was built by Sultan Shamsuddin Eletmish. The fact is placed beyond all doubt by Abul Fida

who wrote about A.D. 1300. He describes the *Mazanah* of the Jama 'Masjid at Delhi as made of red stone and very lofty, with many sides and 360 steps. Now this description can be applied only to the Qutb Minar, which, as it at present stands, has actually 379 steps. But we know that the minar was struck by lightning during the reign of Firuz Shah Tughlaq. The puritancial Sultan *rebuilt* the upper two storeys in 1368 A.D. and perhaps, these nineteen steps were added by him. This fact also illustrates the difference between the design of the first three storeys of the minar and the two uppermost. To hold that the three lower storeys were the outcome of Hindu workmanship and only the remaining two upper storeys belong to Muslims, is to ignore glaring historical facts.

Nagiri Inscriptions

Much confusion has been caused by the presence of Nagiri inscriptions on the Qutb Minar. Mr. Beglar in the Archaeological Survey Report (Vol. IV) has pointed out three Nagiri inscriptions in support of his theory that the Qutb Minar is of Hindu origin :

(i) On the plinth outside to the right side of the entrance is inscribed "Samvat 1256".

(ii) On the wall of the passage of the inside door to the left "Samvat (1) 256".

(iii) Under the lowest arch-stone "Samvat 12. 6."

Mr. Beglar argued that the building must have been constructed very early, prior to Muslim conquest. Maj-Gen. Cunningham was shown all the three inscriptions. He asked Beglar, his assistant, to insert the missing figure before Samvat 256, and here the novice broke down before the master. The missing numeral could be one only giving the date Samvat 1256. So the date, converted into Christian era, gives the year 1199 A.D., as the year of the completion. (perhaps of the first storey or at best the second).

Others put forward the word 'Pirthi', inscribed on the minar, as giving an indication, rather a positive proof, that the mighty tower was built by Prithvi Raj. But if the inscription "Pirthi" had been of an old date, it must have been noticed by eminent experts like Cunningham, Beglar, Walter Ewer, E. Thomas and Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan. The word finds no

place in the records of the researches of these archaeological experts. It is sheer fraud practised by someone to create confusion in the existing order of things, and certainly in more recent times. One thing more must be kept in mind. The despoils of Hindu temples and buildings were freely used in the construction of Muslim buildings. Hence, pieces of stone having inscription can be discovered in a purely Muslim building. That inscription should not be treated as the conclusive evidence regarding the authorship or origin of a building. It must be weighed and tested alongwith other relevant facts.

Muslim Genius

Mr. Beglar holds that the geometrical progress in the distances between the bands of beautiful inscription on the Qutb Minar, could not be the work of "barbarous Muhammadan conquerors, but of intellectual Hindus". Such an assumption betrays a total want of knowledge of the history of the Islamic peoples not only in India but in Arabia, Spain, Persia and Central Asia. By the close of the twelfth century, when Muslims established their power permanently in India, "it was no longer a case of their having to be tutored by their new subjects in the art of building", as John Marshall puts it, "they themselves were already possessed of a highly-developed architecture of their own, as varied and magnificent as the contemporary architecture of Christian Europe ; and the Muslims, moreover, who conquered India—men of Afghan, Persian and Turkish blood—were endowed with remarkably good taste and a natural talent for building. The picture that some writers have drawn of them as wild and semi-barbarous hillmen descending on an ancient and vastly superior civilization, is far from truth."

So, when the Muslims conquered Northern India and built the Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque and the Minar, they had outgrown the stage of barbarity of the pre-Islamic age of Arabia or the nomads of Turkistan. The Muslims had already created a civilization superior to any in the then existing world. They were not devoid of intellectualism which was surely not a monopoly either of the Hindus or the Greeks. If the Musalmans had developed anything in the decorative art, it was certainly the geometric design, which was almost a

passion with them either in planning a garden or carving *jali* work of stone to beautify their palaces and mosques.

Inscriptions

History of the Qutb Minar is written in its own inscriptions. Mr. Walter Ewer took great pains in deciphering them. The fruits of his labour are preserved in a paper by him in the *Asiatic Researches.*[19]

Another attempt was made by E. Thomas, in collaboration with Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan.[20] A recent and masterly survey of the whole inscriptions can be had in the *Epigraphia Indo-Moselmica* edited by Ghulam Yazdani (1911-12). A perusal of these records leaves no shadow of doubt as to the authenticity and genuineness of the inscriptions. The partnership of so many sultans of Delhi in the construction and repair of this minar is clearly marked.

Who built this Tower ?

Now the only question which remains to be considered is, which of the Muslim sultans should be regarded as the builder of this noble and massive edifice ? Apparently the race for authorship of the minar is between Qutbuddin Aibak and Eletmish, his son-in-law and successor. There is one inscription, *Al-Amir-ul-Isfehsalar-ul-Ajall-ul-Kabir* (the amir, the commander of the army, the glorious, the great) in the first and the lower-most band of the basement storey of the minar. It refers to Qutbuddin Aibak and Mr. Thomas declares it to be "a further record of his (Qutbuddin's) active participation" in the erection of the building. Mr. R.N. Munshi[21], on the other hand, holds that Shamsuddin Eletmish was the actual builder of the Qutb Minar. He criticises the above-mentioned inscription and accounts for it differently. He says, "The very inception of Altamash's (Eletmish's) career from his purchase as a slave was solely indebted to Kutbuddin (Qutbuddin)—So it is this deep sense of gratitude and gratefulness which, we think, led Sultan Altamash (Eletmish) to inscribe on the minar the name of his master and father-in-law—the name that should have been so dear to him". He gives reason and relies on the statements of Shams-Siraj, Abul Fida, Sultan Firuz Tughlaq and Sikandar Lodi who call the minar by the name of Sultan Eletmish. One of the inscriptions read that the

erection of this minar was ordered by Shamsuddin Eletmish. But this inscription is contradicted by another which runs: "The completion of this edifice was ordered by the King, helped by the heavenly grace, the Sun of Truth and Religion, Eletmish."

Two Other Inscriptions

Apart from one inscription giving the titles of Qutbuddin Aibak, there are two other inscriptions to the name of Mohammad bin Sam, that is, Sultan Shahabuddin Mohammad Ghori. The explanation advanced by R.N. Mushi is that the consideration which led Eletmish to inscribe the name of Qutbuddin Aibak on the basement of the lower storey, also motivated him to inscribe the name of Mohammad bin Sam. That is to say, it was sheer gratitude and gratefulness on the part of Eletmish. But Mohammad bin Sam was the master of Qutbuddin Aibak, who ruled his territories of Hindustan in his name. It, therefore, must be attributed to Qutbuddin, not to Eletmish, who did not owe allegiance to Ghor at the time of his accession. Eletmish sought the investiture from the Khalifah of Baghdad in order to ensure his supremacy and independence over the Indian territories. He had nothing to do with Ghor or Mohammad Ghori. But Qutbuddin was a slave of Mohammad bin Sam and he engraved the name of the latter on the Qutb Minar, as he did on the gateway of the Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque.

But the statement of Shams-Siraj, Abul Fida, Firuz Tughlaq and Sikandar Lodi still remains to be contradicted. "The statements of Abul Fida, Sham-Siraj, and Sikandar Lodi", observes Cunningham, "all of which agree in calling this pillar the minar of Altamish (Eletmish), may, perhaps, be explained as conveying only the popular opinion, and are certainly not entitled to the same weight as the two inscriptions on the basement storey, which record name and title of Mohammad bin Sam, the Suzerain of Qutbuddin Aibak, whose name is now attached to the pillar. The absence of Altamish's (Eletmish's) name in the inscription of the lower storey is, I think, a conclusive proof that he himself did not claim it as his own work". There is much weight in this argument and the concensus of opinion is in favour of the fact that Qutbud-

din was the founder of the Qutb Minar, and only finished (at the most) the first storey. Eletmish, his son-in-law and successor, completed the unfinished project of his master. However, it should be noted that the Qutb Minar is named not after Qutbuddin Aibak but after Khwaja Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki of Ush (near Baghdad), who lies buried near by, and is popularly known as Qutb Sahib. He was a disciple and apostolic successor to Shaikh Muinuddin Chishti.

To conclude, Mr. R.N. Munshi says : "The name of a Hindu Raja is very erroneously associated by some with the Minar known to us as the Kutb Minar. But a stambha or a pillar of Rai Pithaura or a Prithvi Minar would surely be a mad absurdity. What reason or reasons can be assigned to the building of this mighty minar by a Hindu Raja ? The name of the Qutb Minar which is traditionally handed down to us from posterity is a proof positive that the Minar is out-and-out a Mohammedan edifice." Also there is much force in the assertion of Ziauddin when he says that no better and stronger proofs can be adduced in support of the origin and authorship of the Minar unless the dead were to rise from their graves and claim on oath this splendid fabric as their own creation.

Balban's Tomb

There is a tragic gap in the growth and development of Indo-Muslim architecture between the death of Eletmish in 1236 and the accession of 'Ala'-uddin Khilji in 1296 A.D. The only monument of note that throws some light on its progress in the interval is the tomb of Balban (1266-86 A.D.), which stands in the south-east quarter of the Qila Rai Pithaura. It is a simple structure. Unfortunately, every trace of decoration has perished but the presence of arches built on the true scientific principles, is an innovation and marks a definite advance in the building craft.

Khilji Monuments

'Ala'-uddin Khilji stayed outside Delhi and founded a new cily, Siri, known to Ziauddin Barani as the "New Town" the ruins of which are still to be seen on the left while going to Qutb Sahib.[22] 'Ala'uddin's Delhi was grand and graceful as we

read in the poems of Amir Khusru and the chronicles of Zia Barani.

The rise of Khilji Imperialism is a very important factor in Indo-Muslim architecture. 'Ala'-unddin was an ambitious man and not devoid of taste and refinement as Barani alleges. He wanted to surpass his predecessors and remain unbeaten by posterity both in war and politics, art and architecture. He wished to erect a victory-tower of white marble, double the height and dimension of the Qutb Minar. As his dream to become the world-conqueror did not see the light of the day, so was the case with this minar, though the remains of the unfinished project point out the loftiness of his ideals and the vanity of human endeavour.

'Ala' i Darwaza

The 'Ala' i Darwaza, built in 1311 A.D., was the Southern gateway leading into 'Ala' uddin's extension of the Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque. The 'Ala'i Darwaza is one of the most treasured gems of Indo-Muslim architecture. Here we see the climax of Indian skill and craftsmanship. The key-notes of this building are its perfect symmetry and the structural propriety of all its parts.

Jama 'at Khanah Mosque

Though there is some controversy as to who built this mosque at the Dargah of Nizamuddin Auliya, it appears certain that it was first constructed by 'Ala'uddin Khilji and some additions and alterations were made in the Tughlaq and Mughal periods. The building constructed of red sandstone is a fine specimen of the Pathan[23] style of architecture and earliest example in India of a mosque built wholly in accordance with Muslim ideas[24].

Tughlaq Reaction

With the transfer of the throne of Delhi from the Khilji to the Tughlaq dynasty, the architecture entered on a new and more austere phase. The days of its first youthful splendour were over. Lavish display of ornament and richness of detail gave way to chaste sobriety and even puritanical simplicity. The change seems almost revolutionary—a change for the

worse though. We miss the motive forces of this revolution in style in contemporary histories. But we may assume that the danger of the Mongol invasion and the war conditions in the country, outrage public opinion against the "reckless follies" of 'Ala'-uddin and revolting vices of Qutbuddin Mubarak and Khusru Khan, religious bigotry of Tughlaqs, strain on state-revenues and the urgent need for economy, frequent earthquakes, and the decay and dispersal of skilled craftsmen and artisans and disruption of art traditions as a consequence of the transfer of capital to Daulatabad during the reign of Mohammad Tughlaq, were the main causes which made it impossible for the architects of the period to emulate the works of their predecessors.

Tughlaqabad

Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq (1321-1325 A.D.) built the fortress-city of Tughlaqabad on a range of hills. Few strongholds of antiquity are more imposing in their ruin than this—mighty and forbidding with its lofty towers, massive cyclopean walls and frowning battlements, colossal splayed-out bastions, steep entrance-ways, all producing an impression of unassailable strength and melancholy grandeur ; perhaps Nizamuddin Auliya's curse proved true : *Ya base Gujar, ya rahe ujar.*

The Tomb

Simple and massive, the tomb of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq stands on an island—like lotus in a lake. It was connected with the fort by a narrow causeway.[25] Extremely severe in outline and sparing in decoration it forms a remarkable contrast to the profusely ornamented 'Ala' i Darwaza and the mausoleum of Eletmish. It reflects the reaction against the profligacy and pomp of the preceding period. Those who argue in favour of the Egyptian origin of the Tughlaq style of the days of Mohammad Tughlaq cannot overlook the fact that the plain surface, austere appearance and massive sloping or pyramidal walls originated with Ghiyasuddin who had nothing to do with the court of Cairo.

Mohammad Tughlaq

Mohammad Tughlaq in the first two years of his reign

founded the small fortress of 'Adilabad and the city of *Jahan Panah* (the "World Refuge"). Adilabad was merely an extension of Tughlaqabad and almost identical with it in style and lay-out. *Jahan Panah* was made by enclosing the suburbs between Siri and Old Delhi. The fortifications (some 35 ft. in thickness) of this new city are barely traceable at some places. A building known as Badi Manzil, Jahan Numa or Bijay Mandal[26]—a terraced tower-like structure—survives and is noteworthy for the presence of horse-shoe arches and intersecting vaulting. Below the Bijay Mandal, a square nameless tomb, which for beauty of proportions, both inside and out, is unsurpassed by any other example of Tughlaq architecture.

Firuz Tughlaq

Firuz Tughlaq is the greatest of the builders in pre-Mughal India. His reign saw a period of comparative peace and the building activities were accelerated. Shams-Siraj 'Afif enumerates a long list, and Firishta a still longer, of the cities, forts, palaces, embankments, mosques, tombs and other edifices of which he was the author. Besides the foundation of the new city of Firuzabad (Delhi), he is the founder of Jaunpur, Fathabad and Hisar Firuza. He also renovated and rebuilt many of the mounments of former times—a rare virtue in medieval times.

Of the many monuments of Firuz Tughlaq which have escaped effacement, the most considerable is the Kotla Firuz Shah, the palace-fort, built within the city of Firuzabad. In the compound the best preserved monuments are the Jami Masjid and a pyramidal structure crowned by a pillar of Asoka[27].

A smaller, but architecturally more striking group of buildings—the College and the Tomb—, is found at the Hauz-i-Khas, on the remains of an older structure of 'Ala'-uddin Khilji. The College is almost in ruins. The tomb which Firuz built for himself, is a square structure and its simple dignity and unpretentiousness command admiration. The effective combination of Hindu column and Muslim arch, and their exceptionally decorative appearance, make them more attractive.

Khan Jahan's Tomb

The mausoleum of Khan Jahan Tilangani (d. 1368-69 A.D.), the Prime Minister of Firuz Tughlaq, is of historical and architectural interest. It is situated a little south of the Dargah of Nizamuddin Auliya. The tomb marks a new departure. Instead of being square, like all its predecessors at Delhi, the tomb chamber is octagonal, surmounted by a single dome and encompassed by a low arched verandah. The Tilangani tomb served as the model for the tombs of the Sayyids and the Lodis.

Lal Gumbad

The tomb of Kabiruddin Auliya, locally known as Lal Gumbad, possibly erected during the reign of Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah (1389-92 A.D.), deserves mention. It marks the revival of the more animated colouristic style of the Khiljis, which had been out of fashion for more than half a century.

Kali Masjid

The mosques of Firuz Tughlaq's reign are remarkably uniform in style. But *Kali* (*Kalan*) or *Sanjar* Masjid built by Khan Jahan's son Jauna Shah, is planned on quite unusual lines. Instead of the area in front of the prayer chamber being an open court, it is divided into four by arcades crossing it at right angles. In appearance it is plain and massive and is a multi-domed structure.

Tughlaq Style

Tughlaq monuments are vigorous, virile and strong, wholly sincere in purpose and free from sham. They strike awe and terror in the hearts of the visitors. Though the Tughlaq Sultans were orthodox Muslims, they were not altogether indifferent to beauty and no escape was possible from Indian traditions of architecture. They took to the device of contrast of colour for heightening the aesthetic effect. Much of the mentality underlying and controlling the design was fundamentally Indian. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the longer the Muslims remained in India, the more deeply imbued did their art become with Indian feeling.[28]

Sharqi Architecture at Jaunpur

Timur's invasion shattered to pieces the central power at Delhi and the distant provinces assumed independence—a dark period in the history of Imperialism but very fruitful from the point of view of art and architecture. The year 1400 A.D. may be termed as the "pivotal year" of this movement. The independent kingdoms under the patronage of their rulers developed particular styles of architecture of their own. They were rebels against the Imperial style of architecture at Delhi as was the case in the domain of politics until everything heterogeneous was swallowed up by the advancing tides of the Mughal conquest. But the short period of their glory is most remarkable, and at the same time an interesting study. Among such mushroom states one of the most notable was that known as the *Sharqi* or "Eastern" Sultanat with its capital at Jaunpur forty miles north-west of Benares (now Varanasi).

City of Jaunpur

The city of Jaunpur was founded by Firuz Shah Tughlaq in 1359-60 when he was encamped at Zafarabad, on the southern bank of the Gomti (four miles south-west of Jaunpur) to commemorate the name of his eccentric cousin, Prince Juna, known in history as Mohammad Tughlaq. It is an established fact that the new city was reared up on the site of an old one (whatever might have been the original name). Jaunpur continued to be a "valuable bulwark" of the Delhi Empire until it became independent under the Sharqi Sultans.

Sharqi Dynasty

The founder of the dynasty, Khwaja Jahan, was appointed to the Government of the eastern provinces by Nasiruddin Mahmud Tughlaq with the tile of *Malik-ush-Sharq* or the "Lord of the East" and took up his residence at Jaunpur. Khwaja Jahan, originally named Malik Sarwar, was an eunuch given by Salar Rajab to his grandson Mohammad. Khwaja Jahan died in 1399 A.D. after he had declared himself independent of Delhi in 1394 A.D. He was shortly after succeeded by his adopted son Mubarak, who first assumed the title of *Sultan-ush-Sharq* or the "King of the East". Mubarak died in 1401 A.D. and the vacant throne was at once filled by

Mubarak's younger brother Ibrahim with the title of Shams-uddin Ibrahim Shah Sharqi, a prince of varied talents, whose long reign is the most glorious in the short annals of Jaunpur. During Ibrahim's long reign of 43 years the sway of the Sharqi Kings was firmly established over the fairest provinces of Northern India, from Kanauj to Bihar, and from Bahraich to Etawah.

Ibrahim Shah Sharqi was ambitious of founding a city in the heart of Hindustan that would become the spiritual and cultural capital of Islam in India, and it must be said to his credit that Jaunpur did attain to that glory and became a second Baghdad. The sway of the Sharqis covered nearly the whole of the ninth century of the Hijra era.

Jaunpur Monuments

The architecture of Jaunpur is confined almost entirely to Muslim mosques. Strangely enough, no Muslim city of India has suffered so much at the hands of the Musalmans themselves as this. Unfortunately many of its finest monuments were ruthlessly destroyed or mutilated by Sikandar Lodi in a fit of spiteful vengeance after his defeat of Husain (1452-78), the last sultan of Jaunpur. Sikandar Lodi carried out the work of destruction with unusual completeness and raised to the ground even the gates of the mosques and would have destroyed the *Masjids* themselves but for the remonstrances of the Mullas. Not a single residential building of the time of Sharqis, even in ruins, can now be traced. Hence the mosques are the sole data of the study of the Sharqi architecture at Jaunpur.

The fort

Before dealing with the Sharqi buildings a brief mention must be made of the fort of Firuz Shah Tughlaq, decorated with the mosque and hammam by Ibrahim Naib Barbak, Firuz's brother. The fort of Jaunpur, the ancient *Karar Kot*, no longer exists except as a ruin. It is an irregular quadrangle on the north bank of the Gomti, formed by a stone wall built round an artificial earthen mound. The principal gateway of the fort still remains, and is attributed to the reign of Akbar. The spandrels of the arch are filled with glazed

tiles and the walls are divided into panels with ornamental niches.

The Hammam of Ibrahim is almost a perfect model of a Turkish bath. The structure of the great part is below the present level of the ground, and the style of the edifice is as striking as its spacious dimensions.

Fort Masjid

The masjid of Ibrahim Naib Barbak in the fort is the oldest of all the buildings in Jaunpur and for want of any other name may be conveniently called the "Fort Masjid". It is a long narrow building of the early Bengali type, that is, a simple arcade supported on carved Hindu pillars, with three low domes in the middle. It has no minars, their place being taken by two stone pillars placed at a short distance in front of the mosque, only one of which is now standing ; but the position of the second is marked by its broken plinth.

Sharqi Architecture

The Fort is not to be reckoned among the chief attractions of Jaunpur. The noble mosques of the Sharqi period, unique in style and unrivalled in grandeur by such as depend, for their beauty, only on elegance of design and elaboration of material and not on the facile glory of rare marbles and bright enamels, still draw visitors from all over the world. These mosques are constructed entirely of stone, mortar, and concrete. The walls are of ashlar masonary, set with fine and well wrought joints. Internally throughout, the columns, roofs, and domes are of stone, whilst the exterior of the domes and roofs, parapets and floors is floated with cement, marble being sparingly used for the decoration of the interior. An extract from Fergusson's description of the Atala Masjid will give an idea of the general features of the Jaunpur style. "It consists", he says, "of a courtyard, on the western side of which is situated a range of buildings, the central one covered by a dome, in front of which stands a gate-pyramid or propylon of almost Egyptian manner and outline. This gate-pyramid by its elevation supplied the place of a minaret which none of these masjids possess. The three sides of courtyard were surrounded by colonnades, on each face was a handsome gateway. These

Jaunpur examples are well worthy of illustration and in themselves possess a simplicity and grandeur not often met with in this style. An appearance of strength, moreover, is imparted to them by their sloping walls."

Atala Masjid

The Atala Masjid is the earliest and finest specimen of the Sharqi style of Jaunpur mosque and the best preserved and most ornate and beautiful of all. In point of size, it stands about midway between the Jami and Lal Darwaza masjids. The mosque though founded in 1377 A.D. by Khwaja Kamil Khan, very little progress was made until the reign of Ibrahim Shah Sharqi who brought it to completion in 1408 A.D. and hence, was indubitably responsible for the character of its design.

The general design of the masjid is similar to that of the great mosques at Delhi and Ajmer ; but its style of ornamentation belongs to the later period of the Alai Darwaza at Delhi. In plan it is a quadrangle, surrounded by cloisters of two storeys on three sides, with the masjid itself on the west. The grand feature of the mosque is the highly decorated propylon or great central arch, with a smaller propylon on each side of it.

The masjid proper is divided into five compartments ; the central room covered by a dome. The corner rooms are cut off from the rest of the building with a private entrance from outside and they, most probably, were exclusively used by the ladies of the royal family—a characteristic feature of Jaunpur mosques. The dome is considerably lower than the top of the propylon, but it could be seen indistinctly from the front, through the trellises of the small windows decorating the screen wall under the great arch. The gateways in the middle of each of the other sides of the quadrangle are similar in design to the central part of the mosque, each presenting a lofty propylon outside with a dome behind it. Black marble has been largely used in the decoration of the interior of the grand dome.

Khalis Mukhlis Masjid

The next mosque in point of age and belonging to the reign of Ibrahim Sharqi is that known as Khalis Mukhlis

situated in the Mohalla Dariba along the north bank of the Gomti river. The masjid was built by Malik Khalis and Malik Mukhlis (after whom the mosque is named), governors of Jaunpur under Sultan Ibrahim for the convenience of Sayyid Usman of Shiraz, driven from Delhi by the irruption of Timur. The mosque consists of a domed hall and two wings, the dome masked by a low facade of the character peculiar to Jaunpur, but there is no ornament to break or relieve the sombre massiveness of the building. It is most commonly known by the name of *Char-Ungli*, given to it by reason of the famous stone still to be seen on the left of the main entrance leading to the prayer chamber. It has the miraculous property of measuring four '*unglis*' (fingers) of any size. The stone is much revered and worshipped by Muslims and Hindus alike.

Jhanjhiri Masjid

This mosque lies in the Sipah Mohalla along the bank of the Gomti. It derives its name from the series of lattices (*Jhanjhiris*) in the screen over the main arch. General. Cunningham is mistaken when he calls it as "*Zanzeeri*" which he guessed was due to the chain-like appearance of its ornamentation. It was built by Ibrahim Shah Sharqi himself in the honour of Hazrat Sa'id Sadr Jahan Ajmali. Nothing now remains except the great propylon. The mosque was much smaller than any of the others, but the front of the propylon yields to none of them in richness and beauty of ornamentation. The style of decoration is similar to that of the Atala Masjid and it is most likely that both are the works of the same architect.

Lal Darwaza Masjid

The sole remaining work of Mahmud's reign (1440-1456) is the mosque of Bibi Raji, or as it is more commonly called, the Lal Darwaza Masjid in memory of the "high gate painted with vermilion" belonging to the palace which Bibi Raji built at the same time close by. It stands near the village of Begamganj at some distance outside the city to the north-west. Bibi Raji, the founder of the mosque, was the queen of Mahmud Shah Sharqi and she outlived her husband for many years.

With the exception of this mosque Sikandar Lodi destroyed all the palace-buildings and now nothing remains of them but the name of Lal Darwaza.

The mosque of Bibi Raji is the smallest of all the Jaunpur masjids, and the general design and style being similar to that of Atala and Jami masjids, but the walls are much thinner and the whole building is on a lighter and less massive scale. In front of the dome there is an entrance hall which is wanting in the other mosques. The Lal Darwaza is more decidedly Hindu in execution and treatment, the dome, the great entrance and the three gates are the only arched construction in the whole building. In this mosque, the ladies' galleries are placed alongside the central hall.

Jami Masjid

The Jami Masjid, or to give its full title, the *Masjid Jami-ush-Sharq* of Husain Sharqi is the largest mosque and last among the buildings of Jaunpur. Diverse accounts are given regarding the reason for its foundation. Some attribute the design of the mosque to Ibrahim Sharqi who wished to save an old hermit, Hazrat Khwaja 'Isa' the voluntary labour of walking barefooted from his dwelling hardly to the Masjid Khalis Mukhlis, a mile distant for the Friday prayers. No one associates any part of the building to Ibraham, but it is possible that some such design may have occurred to him.

The plan of the Jami Masjid is essentially the same as that of the Atala Masjid, but there are many differences of detail, of which the most marked is the high platform on which it stands, all other masjids being raised but little above the ground level. The masjid is divided into five distinct compartments the great domed roof being in the middle with a pillard room at each end. The central room is called *gumbad* or "the dome", the pillard rooms are called *chhat* or "flat-roof", and the end rooms, *chhapra*, or the "vaults". According to Kittoe, this dome is a "wonderful piece of workmanship, the exterior shell being many feet apart from that of the interior, and is formed of different segments of a circle." The flat-roofed compartments on each side of the central domed room have two storeys. The upper rooms are provided with

trellises (*jhanjhiri* or *jali*) with an entrance from outside, and hence must have been used as the Zanana gallery.

Characteristic Features

The characteristic features of the Jaunpur style of architecture are three-fold : propylon, surface decoration, and the Zanana gallery attached to the main building, but it is the former which gives the mosques at Jaunpur their distinctive character. Archaeological experts are divided on the usefulness of the propylon hiding a single dome, and its success as an architectural measure as it can only be seen in the most advantageous way from the direct front. John Marshall, though praising the device as it gave the mosque an imposing appearance and accentuated the importance of the prayer chamber, says : "Few things indeed, in Muslim architecture are so anomalous as the juxtaposition of these flat, abruptly squared, propylons and of the graceful domes immediately behind them. It is an anomaly of which no architect imbued with the true spirit of Islamic art could have been guilty". He blames the Hindu craftsmanship for this defect of construction and composition. Though the dome is undoubtedly the most majestic covering for a single chamber, but when seen from without, it appears to overpower a room whose walls are not proportionately lofty and hence, the effect of any such building could not be pleasing. Therefore to lessen the weight of the dome, the Pathan architects of Jaunpur would claim the honour of being the first in India to unite domes and their adjuncts into a happy synthesis,—so original, so quickly perfected and hardly imitated elsewhere. The dome was retained as a symbol of a Muslim mosque and for the sake of an imposing internal roof to a central chamber.

The Style

"The style", remarks V.A. Smith, "while it has much of the massiveness of the Tughlaq buildings at Delhi, is less severe and more attractive, a curious hybrid of Muslim and Hindu". But the mosques of the Tughlaqs are less ornate than the mosques at Jaunpur, nor is there anything in them to match the imposing propylon screens which adorn the

latter. There is no truth in the assertion that the cloisters of these masjids are the remains of the old Hindu temples which had been appropriated and converted as was done at Delhi in the construction of the Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque. The true cause of the admixture of the Muslim and Hindu styles at Jaunpur, according to Fergusson, was the employment of Hindu masons and architects by their Muslim masters in building a house of prayer for the faithful. Besides these, newly converted Hindus were also employed who strictly adhered to their previous traditions in art and craft. Fergusson's theory receives a powerful support from the simple but valuable records of the architects themselves in Nagiri character inscribed on these mosques. They have put down their names, and the date when a particular building was completed.

The style of ornamentation is purely Hindu, the lotus emblem being predominant, and even the name of God in the *Qibla* (direction towards Mecca) is inscribed on Buddhist bell. Jaunpur is still a pleasure resort for all admirers of art. The glimpses of its monuments viewed from the different parts of railway embankment, where it crosses the valley of Gomti, reminds one of its past glory and provides a strong stimulus to miss the train for the next.

Tombs of the Sayyids

In spite of the new movement which Lal Gumbad happened to inaugurate, broad features of the Tughlaq style held ground down to the end of the Afghan dynasties of Delhi. The chief and best examples of architecture of the Sayyid period are the tombs of the kings and nobles. They follow the pattern of the Tilangani tomb, each succeeding structure being an improvement on the design of its predecessors.

In the mausoleum of Mubarak Shah, the central dome was raised substantially higher, pinnacles (*guldastas*) were added and the finial was replaced by an arched lantern. The height of the varandah was also increased.

In the tomb of Mohammad Shah the architects went a step further by providing subordinate kiosks (*chhatris*) and second range of pinnacles (*guldastas*). Blue enamelled tiling to give emphasis to decorative features, the elaborate and highly

refined treatment of surface ornaments, the lotus finials and other Indian motifs, were innovations and the distinctive traits of the Sayyid architecture.[29]

Lodi Buildings

With the rise of the Lodis, Indo-Muslim architecture developed into a charming Indian style. The Pathans had become thoroughly Indianized and Hindu tradition if not positively un-Islamic had no repugnance in their eyes.

The Lodis did not build any new Delhi. The tomb of Bahlul is the best preserved specimen of Lodi architecture. It is a modest size mausoleum of one storey. Here for the first time we come across with lean-to roofing which attained its luxuriant perfection in the Turkish Sultana palace at Fathpur-Sikri.

Sultan Sikandar Lodi transferred his capital from Delhi to his newly founded city of Agra. Though Sikandar lived and ruled in Agra he wished his earthly remains to be buried in Delhi. Not far from Safdar Jang lies the mausoleum of Sikandar Lodi in the midst of a large and ruined quadrangle, more extensive than that of Sikandarah. Enamelled tiles of various colours have been used in a variety of patterns both inside and outside the building indicating a marked tendency towards a richer and more lavish display of ornament. A still more important feature of this tomb is the use made in it of the double dome. This invention along with the walled enclosure for the tomb played an all-important part in the evolution of Mughal architecture.[30] The Lodi style does not represent only the departure from the simple, severe and sloping architecture of the Tughlaq but is a link between the Pathans and the Mughal. The Mughals may not feel grateful for the empire they wrested from the Lodis but they are certainly indebted to them for what they inherited in the field of art and architecture.

Sur Interregnum

The empire of the Mughals was founded by Babur in 1526 A.D., but he left no impression whatever on the Indian building tradition. Babur's son and successor Humayun lost and regained the throne of Delhi. During the interval another

dynasty of the Afghans, the Surs, held sway over the country. Appearing like a bright comet on the horizon of Hindustan, Sher Shah did splendid work in the field of politics and administration, art and architecture. His short but glorious reign is a landmark in the history of Indo-Muslim architecture, which has rightly termed as the Renaissance style.

The buildings of the Sur dynasty faithfully reflect the Indian character. As there was a definite advance in the direction of Indianization of the Muslim administration during this period, so in architecture too, the Sur period marks an epoch of nationalization, foreshadowing the rise of a national style of architecture and a national empire in the reign of Akbar. The new spirit is outstanding in Sher Shah's mosque in old Delhi (Qila-i-Kuhna mosque). Fergusson justly remarks that the mosque is Muslim outside but Hindu within, without any open definance of the Islamic law and tradition. This mosque, like the reign of Sher Shah, marks only a period of transition from the period of sultanat to that of empire, from the tastes and institutions that were Islamic to those that were truly Indian.

Shershah built a new city of Delhi, the foundation of which had been laid by his rival Humayun Padshah under the name of *Din Panah* which later on became famous as Shergarh and is now known as Purana Qila.

Within the citadel of Sher Shah's Delhi the only extant buildings are the Qila-i-Kuhna Mosque and another red stone structure octagonal in shape known as Sher Mandal, a corruption of Sher Manzil, and wrongly labelled as Humayun's Library.

Qila-i-Kuhna Mosque

As in administration, so in architecture we see the spirit of nationalism at work—a Sur legacy far too important for the Mughals. Outwardly the Qila-i-Kuhna Mosque,—neat, well-proportioned with domes and pointed arches—, is Muslim but the interior has a decisively pleasing Hindu atmosphere. Fergusson's remark that Pathans built like giants and finished like goldsmiths, applies nowhere better than in the style of this mosque.

Sher Shah's Mausoleum

The contribution of Sher Shah's mausoleum at Sahasram in the evolution of Indo-Muslim architecture is too great to be emphasized. There is a link, a stage of development from the tomb of Sher Shah to that of Humayun; and Humayun's tomb is a connecting link between the Taj and the mausoleum of Sher Shah.

The construction of the tomb was begun by Sher Shah himself and completed by his son Salim or Islam Shah. It is situated in the midst of an artificial lake and impresses the visitor by its excellently designed background, massiveness, manly grace and delicate finish.

From Sher Shah's death in 1545 A.D. until Akbar laid the foundations of the fort of Agra in 1564 A.D., with the exception of Humayun's Tomb, examples of the building art are rare.

Humayun's Tomb

As in the case of Babur, Humayun also did not exercise any direct influence on the contemporary architecture but his mausoleum, built eight years after his death by his widow Haji Begam, "is not only one of the most arresting examples of the building art in India but it is also an outstanding landmark in the development of the Mughal style".[31] It is the first garden-tomb of Indian Mughals and is of special interest as being to some extent the model of the inimitable Taj. In spirit and in structure Humayun's Tomb stands as an example of the synthesis of two of the great building traditions of Asia—the Persian and the Indian. Havell describes it as "a Persianized version of Sher Shah's tomb."[32] Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan is very lavish in his praise of the building. A poet has eulogized the monument thus :

Har ke khwahad ke bebinad shakl-i-Firdaus-i-barin,
Gu biya in qasr wa in bagh-i-Humayun ra bebin.[33]

NEW ERA

It is true as Vincent Smith (author of *History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*) holds that the Muslim art and architecture possess a "uniform character" throughout the whole

Muslim world because the main inspiration is derived from religion. But in that age of religious dogmatism was born a prophet who delivered the message of Indian nationalism. And he was Akbar !

During the reign of Akbar, as said earlier Humayun's Tomb which was erected by Humayun's widow, Haji Begam, was completed. 'It suggested new principles, wider possibilities, greater flexibility and generally infused the building art with fresh life." But Akbar had nothing to do with it. He was a dreamer and an idealist. He had a passion for building ingeniously, and his building project started with great enthusiasm. The most important building schemes after Humayun's tomb were launched in the shape of palace fortresses at Agra and Lahore. Within the Agra Fort enclosure, the *Ain-i-Akbari* states, Akbar built upwards of five hundred edifices of red stone in the fine style of Bengal and Gujarat. In the general character of the fort at Agra, there is a resemblance of the fortress at Gwalior, with its palaces of Man Singh built early in the century. The Elephant Gateway, the cupolas of Amar Singh's Gateway, the palaces rising out of the fort walls, the planning of these palaces, and also some of the carved details, all indicate that the Rajput citadel, which had moved Babur to admiration some forty years before "was used freely as a model by his more fortunately placed grandson." The most characteristic building ascribed to Akbar is *Jahangiri Mahal* at Agra Fort. It is almost entirely of red sand-stone, inlaid with white marble on the exterior. The principle of construction is the *beam and bracket*, the arch being sparingly used and then only in its *Ornamental capacity*.

Although Lahore was regarded as only the second capital of the empire, the fort that Akbar constructed there almost at the same time as that of Agra, was conceived and carried out on practically the same grand scale. What is left of the palace buildings dated from the time of Akbar, possibly Jahangir, shows that the style of these was similar in most respects to the *Jahangiri Mahal* at Agra, except that carved decoration was, if anything more, vigorous and unrestrained. Elephants and lions figure in the brackets. The workmen engaged at Lahore appear to have been more imaginative in their ornamental accessories than their fellow-craftsmen at Agra. One

other fort of the first rank was built by Akbar some twenty years later at Allahabad, begun in 1983, still shows the remains of considerable architectural merit. It stands at the junction of the Ganges and Yamuna. It is larger than Lahore and Agra. Only one noble pavilion is found intact, the *Zanana Palace*, from which the character of the whole may be surmised. Its opulent style suggests the growing wealth and power of Akbar. The Jahangiri Mahal exemplifies a stage of transition between the Hindu type of palace as seen far instance in the Man Mandir at Gwalior built towards the end of the fifteenth century, and the domestic requirements of a Muslim ruler in the sixteenth century.

Of an entirely different class from any of the foregoing is the fort at Ajmer built in 1570 A.D. and evidently devised to function as a spearhead to Akbar's advancing frontiers.

Fathpur-Sikri

But the real building project which determines the place of Akbar in the architectural history is the ruined and desolate city of Fathpur-Sikri, some seven miles in circumference, situated twenty-three miles south-west of Agra, built during the year 1569 and 1605.[34]

The motives ascribed to Akbar in building the new city are partly personal and partly military. Akbar regarded Fathpur-Sikri auspicious as Jahangir was born to him through the blessings of Shaikh Salim Chishti who resided there. Secondly, he wanted to build a new capital where he could introduce his novel ideas and policy, unfettered and uninterrupted by the orthodox section of Muslims. At Sikri he got a chance to start with a clean slate. Apart from personal considerations, Agra was in the plains and Sikri is situated on the hills commanding the neighbouring countries. Entrance into Rajputana and Bharatpur could be easily guarded from Sikri. Akbar was a great general and it was strategically sound to shift from Agra to Fathpur-Sikri.

Importance of Sikri

It has been well said that there are two histories of the reign of Akbar ; Abul Fazl's *Akbar-nama*, and Fathpur-Sikri. Truly, Fathpur-Sikri is a very valuable commentary on Akbar

as a whole, and bears witness to Akbar's splendid capacity as an organiser, as a ruler of men and as a statesman of genius. In Fathpur-Sikri we find the ideas of Akbar personified. The allegation of Vincent Smith that "the building of Fathpur-Sikri was a freak of an irresponsible autocrat acting under the impulse of overpowering superstitious emotions" and enjoying the sensation of absolutc freedom from financial limitations ; and the contention of Percy Brown that Fathpur-Sikri was built in a haste which necessitated an immense staff of workmen, predominantly Hindu, which accounted for the Hindu influences in the buildings of Sikri, do great injustice to the high soul and his dream of founding a truly Indian style. That wondrous city is a monument of Akbar's tact and genius, and justifies the courtly phrase of his biographer that "His Majesty plans splendid edifices, and dresses the work of his mind and heart in the garment of stone and clay."

Its Psychology

Fathpur-Sikri is the culmination of the age of enlightenment and the revival of Indian culture in the sixteenth century India, whose sponsor was Akbar. Since the middle of the fifteenth century the contending forces of Islam and Hinduism were seeking a common platform, a path to rapprochement, first in the realm of thought and then in politics. Hence the psychology behind Fathpur-Sikri was an impulse towards amalgamation and unity, a blending of the best in Islamic fine art with the imperishable elements of ancient Indian architecture. Akbar, who inspired the style of Fathpur-Sikri, imparted the same impress on the new style of architecture, as he had done in politics, namely, the foundation of a polity which is neither Hindu nor Muslim but pre-eminently Indian, with a composite Asian culture.

Without indulging in generalities let us analyse the peculiar characteristics of some of the specimen buildings of Fathpur-Sikri to elucidate the point that the architectural style of Fathpur-Sikri was not exclusively Hindu or Muslim, but typically Indian and national.

Jodh Bai's Mahal

The so-colled Jodh Bai's Mahal was the second, perhaps in

point of the date of construction, though E.W. Smith regards it the oldest of all the domestic buildings. History does not record any Hindu wife of Akbar bearing the name of Jodh Bai. The entrance to the palace is of the usual plan of entrance to a Muslim house. It is like a *Swastika* with the vertical line—a peculiar device for maintaining *Pardah* of the inner courtyard. The ground floor has a colonnaded verandah on three sides. On the west there is an open hall with a small raised platform of several steps which may be identified either as Hindu altar for idols or the mimbar of a mosque. A stair-case leads to the upper storey on all the four sides above the verandah. The atmosphere that pervades the structure is neither Hindu nor Muslim but something of the spirit of the age and of the character of the Emperor. The building, to a greater extent, is similar to the *Jahangiri Mahal* at Agra Fort. Here for the first time a novel form of roofing catches our eye. Rooms are found with roofs of sand-stone chiselled in a wavy form like a "corrugated" iron sheet. E.W. Smith is not correct when he says that the idea was borrowed from Italy. The roofs have their archetype in the '*kachcha*' houses of the rural areas in the country. The versatile Emperor could appreciate beauty in humble things and the importation of the form of tiled roof to cover a princely abode is another proof of his attempt to Indianize Muslim architecture as much as possible and build an empire in which the high and low should be equally represented. The bell and chain, one of the oldest Hindu ornaments, is freely carved upon the piers

The other striking room in Jodh Bai's palace is the *Hawa Mahal*, with its latticed screens overlooking the courtyard of *Mahal-i-Khas*. A covered stone pathway, higher than a man's height, connects Jodh Bai's palace with the *Mahal-i-Khas*. The *Mahal-i-Khas* with Jodh Bai's palace formed the inner citadel of Akbar's fortified city of Fathpur-Sikri.

Jogi-ki-Chhatri

Outside the building, labelled as girl's school, there is a small pleasing pavilion called *Jogi-ki-Chhatri*. Its serpentine brackets of exquisite workmanship and everything else about it, is so purely Hindu in taste and tradition that the *Jogi-ki-*

Chhatri would have been quite becoming in a Jain temple of Gujarat style of architecture.

Bibi Maryam's Kothi

Originally this residence was known as the *Sonahra Makan*, or "Golden House" and it was so called on account of the profuse gilding which embellished both the outer and the inner walls. Among other buildings of *Mahal-i-Khas*, it is large in size though not so exquisitely sculptured outside like Turkish Sultana palace. There is a hot controversy about the name and the person who occupied this house. The colour painting has now disappeared. E.W. Smith has given photographs of the remnants of this painting which he found there. There is one scene indicating the punishment of sinners cast into hell. There is another painting which seems to be a copy of the Madonna. Another gives the picture of a Brahmin in *dhoti* with a sheet thrown cross-wise over his back. These are enough to judge the high quality of art that marked the paintings of the age of Akbar, and a clear departure from dogmatic injuctions of Islam forbidding the representation of animate beings in any form.[35]

Turkish Sultana Palace

A "superb jewelled casket" as the Turkish Sultana Palace is designated, it stands unrivalled in its wealth of relief sculpture among the palaces of Fathpur-Sikri. It is a small but very well-proportioned building worthy of the abode of a queen. A glance at the palace of the Turkish Sultana reminds one of Prof. Rushbrooke William's remark that with Babur began the modern age. In fact modern taste in a medieval building is first exhibited in the palace of Turkish Sultana. It is worthy of imitation in modern times if India wants to combine chaste elegance of the West with the picturesqueness of the Orient. Though the room is small in size it has wide verandahs on all sides with lean-to roofs lower than the ceiling of the main room. The walls are divided into panels and each has an inimitable forest scene ; trees, flowering creepers, thick under-grove concealing lions beneath and peacocks above.

Bir Bal's House

Raja Bir Bal's house is a peer in beauty, grandeur and

magnificence with the palace of Turkish Sultana as a residential building and yet no two buildings are more unlike in design and execution. The house is built on a high plinth. In Raja Bir Bal's house we find a reflection of the mind of Akbar as a rebel against conventionalism and as a bold innovator. Throughout the whole range of the residential buildings of the reign of Akbar, Raja Bir Bal's palace is the only one with a domed roof. A dome in Muslim architecture is always associated with a mosque or with a grave. Here the dome was used as a roof beneath which a living being, and that too a Brahmin, was to sleep. Hence Akbar retained the dome as the symbol of new India which was then in the process of creation under the driving power of Muslim civilization. But he discarded the superstition about it as befitting either the house of God or the house of the dead.

Panch Mahal

One of the most striking buildings at Fathpur-Sikri is that known as the Panch Mahal, or the "Five-storeyed pavilion". For what distinct purpose it was built one cannot definitely say, but probably it was used by Akbar and his chosen retainers as a pleasure resort, in the airy aisles of which he could obtain the cool breeze of an evening, and a fine view of the adjacent country; or, it may have been exclusively used by the ladies and children of the court.

The peculiar feature of the structure is that each storey is smaller than that upon which it stands till at last only a small kiosk, supported on four small slender square shafts, forms the uppermost floor. Havell says that it is planned after the old Indian assembly halls frequently alluded to in Buddhist literature. an example of which exists within the fort of Bijapur. The ground floor contains fifty-six pillars, of which no two pillars are alike in design. The construction, at any rate, is mainly Hindu and the bell and the chain have been employed in decoration.

Diwan-i-Khas

The most unique piece of classic imagination and antique beauty that one finds is Akbar's Diwan-i-Khas in Fathpur-Sikri. It is small like all other buildings. It has no pretentions

to elaborate surface carvings or any relief on its walls. The chief peculiarity of the structure is that though it has only one storey it looks like a double-storeyed building. But on getting inside we see no obstruction in the middle. It is really a room twice the usual height. The main attraction of Diwan-i-Khas is the central pillar. It is octagonal in shape and very delicately carved to the height of the capital. It is genuinely ancient Indian in spirit. From the capital there radiate four stone causeways, divided into eight, with low *jali* (screens). These causeways are ingeniously supported on very beautifully carved brackets giving the capital the appearance of a full-bloomed lotus. The pillar also resembles the throne of Lord Vishnu.

Perfect co-ordination between its structural and decorative elements, is necessary for a great school of architecture. "If we are to distinguish between fine building and noble architecture" observes Professor Lethaby, "this organic unity must be the test."[36] And Akbar's architecture has passed this test. It was his policy to make everything meet halfway whether in politics or in religion or in art. He experimented with the principles of *Sulh-i-Kul* (peace with all) and *Sultan-ul-'Aql* (Lord-Reason) in statecraft and the same philosophy is imprinted in mystic lines of the architecture of the red stone city of Sikri.

The Great Mosque of Fathpur-Sikri, from the pulpit of which Akbar promulgated his Divine Faith, in the endeavour to reconcile the conflicting creeds of all his subjects, is an interesting example of this. This is the most glorious edifice which Akbar dedicated to his faith. There is an inscription on the mosque to the effect that "this is a duplicate of the Holy Place (Mecca)". Yet in the structure itself the evidence of the Indian master-builder's handiwork and controlling mind gives an overwhelming proof to the contrary. It is purely an Indian building, in spite of the eclecticism of its details. Within the courtyard of the mosque is the *white marble* shrine covering the remains of Shaikh Salim Chishti, one of the most beautiful specimens of Mughal architecture extant. The lattices are particularly praiseworthy. The tomb of the saint may be regarded as an exception to the general character of the buildings of Akbar.

Buland Darwaza

The public entrance to the mosque was through the southern gateway known as the "Buland Darwaza" or High Gate, a name justified by the fact that it is the highest of Indian gateways and among the largest in the world. The structure is a magnificient example of the Persian form of gateway, deriving its dignity from the great semi-dome in which the actual doors are inset. The Buland Darwaza was added to the mosque in 1601-1602 as a triumph arch to commemorate Akbar's conquests in the Deccan. The highest authorities regard Buland Darwaza as "one of the most perfect architectural achievements in the whole of India".[37] Like most of the other buildings at Fathpur-Sikri, it is built of red sandstone and there is no painted decoration on it except the carving and the discreet inlay of white marble. Though this noble master-piece is Persian in form, the architectural treatment of it is distinctively Indian.

CONTROVERSY REGARDING ITS DATE OF CONSTRUCTION

The Buland Darwaza, the loftiest victory gateway in India, is generally believed to have been build in the year 1601-02 A.D. in commemoration of Akbar's Deccan conquests. Dr. Nandalal Chatterji has questioned "this popular belief" and considers it "entirely unfounned".[38] He says : "This opinion is based on the inscription on its eastern side, which is dated A.H. 1010, the year which marked the royal builder's conquest of Khandesh and the capitulation of the great fort of Asirgarh".

The inscription in question runs as follows : "His Majesty, King of Kings, of celestial abode, the Shadow of God, Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar Badshah, having reduced the territory of the Deccan and Dandes, formerly known as Khandesh, in the 46th Ilahi year, corresponding to A.H. 1010, arrived at Fatehpur-Sikri and then proceeded to Agra."

Dr. Chatterji argues : "...this inscription does not mention a word about the construction of this gateway.... Besides, Akbar ceased to live in Sikri after 1585, when he left this capital for the north. Even if he had chosen to build this lofty

structure in 1601-02, he could have hardly done so, for by now Fatehpur-Sikri had been in fact abandoned as the royal head-quarters for about sixteen years and was now in a state of semi-ruin and disrepair". Dr. Chatterji questions : "Why should the builder have undertaken in such circumstances and in semi-desert city the construction of a monument of such eminence and size, which must have taken at least a year or even more to complete ?"

The work at Fathpur-Sikri started in 1569 A.D. and continued up to 1601[39]. It is true that in 1585 Akbar made Lahore his capital and resided there up to 1598 A.D. Afterwards he shifted to Agra. That Fathpur-Sikri became desolate simply because it was no longer the seat of Mughal Empire, is unbelievable. If this is taken as the criterion, the same should hold good in the case of Agra and Delhi as well. The strategic importance of Sikri remained unchallenged. Rajputana and Bharatpur were connected with the Mughal capital through Fathpur-Sikri. Moreover, Sikri has the proud privilege of having the sacred shrine of Shaikh Salim Chishti, which attracts devotees from all over the country and abroad. If Fathpur-Sikri was in ruins and a desert, why, after all, should Akbar pay a visit to this place in 1601 ?

However, the main burden of Dr. Chatterji's thesis rests on a chronogram in Thomas William Beale's book, *Miftah-ut-Tawarikh*. On the basis of this chronogram Prof. Blochmann read a paper before the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1874.[40] The chronogram, "*rashk-i-taq-i-sipahr-i-buland*" (the envy of the arch of the lofty firmament), according to the usual rules of notation, gives the date A.H. 983 (A.D. 1575-6). Dr. Chatterji regards this Persian chronogram as "the most decisive evidence" which supplies "the clue to the actual date of the erection of the Buland Darwaza". He sees "no reason to doubt the genuineness of the aforesaid chronogram". The chronogram, according to Dr. Chatterji, is *anonymous*.

The *Miftah-ut-Tawarikh* reads as follows :

دروازه کلاں فتح پور کہ مشہور بہ بلند دروازہ است در سنہ نہصد وہشتاد دوم

تعمیر یافتہ وتاریخ آں ازیں مصرع استخراج می یابد شدہ رشک طاق سپہر بلند"۔ ۴۱

Thomas William Beale had a knack for writing chronograms. It is he who makes a definite statement that the Buland Darwaza was built in 983 A.H. (A.D. 1575-6). Secondly, the complete chronogram is : "*Shudah rashk-i-taq-i-sipahr-i-buland*". There is no indication or hint that the first word of the chronogram, viz., *shudah* should be omitted while calculating the date of the construction of Buland Darwaza. On the other hand, the entry in the *Miftah* explicitly states that the date is to be extracted from the *misra'* (hemistich). And the four words, viz., *rashk-i-taq-i-sipahr-i-buland*, do not form a hemistich ! The complete hemistich is : *Shudah rashk-i-taq-i-sipahr-i-buland* (Completed the envy of the arch of the lofty firmament).

The complete chronogram, *Shudah rashk-i-taq-i-sipahr-i-buland*, gives A.H. 1292 (A.D. 1875). Hence, the subject of the date of the completion of Buland Darwaza may be regarded still as unsettled.

Appreciation of Style

Literary critics say that the style reflects the man. It is no less true in the case of architecture. The general impression of the buildings at Fathpur-Sikri which a visitor gets is very much unlike that of any of the Muslim architecture either in India or outside before the age of Akbar ; nor anybody would say that it is a reproduction of the old Hindu style of architecture, though signs of revivalism are writ large. Akbar was an eclectic in religion and philosophy, so was he in his architectural taste. The Emperor himself was neither a poet nor very much partial to poetry, yet he had a poet's eye for the beautiful. Akbar was a true Hindustani, a child of the orient. Akbar's Hindustan was neither a land of Hindus exclusively nor that of Islam. Occasionally, Akbar's anxiety to revive the past bordered on the enthusiasm of a purist. In the style of architecture the same exhuberance of Hindu imagination is noticeable which seems to have found a greater and more elegant synthesis and sense of proportion generally missed in the wilderness of the political history of his long reign.

In Akbar we find a sense of art and economy, not extravagance which characterises the buildings of his grandson,

Shahjahan ; beauty out of simplicity and not subservient to the wealth of material. All his buildings are in red sandstone as against marble and the inlaying of precious stones. The buildings of Akbar truly belong to an epic age—vigorous, virile and full of youthful exhuberance, as opposed to the effiminate grace of the Mughal architecture in general. It is interesting to note that in Akbar no two buildings are alike in shape and no two pillars similar in design. It impresses the sense of homogeneity in diversity and is surely the stamp of individual genius.

A School of Art

The city of Fathpur-Sikri even in its deserted and dilapidated condition, as it stands today, appears to have been designed more as a comprehensive work of art in all its branches—painting, sculpture and architecuture combined into one. In the field of art—for example, in the frescos in Khwabgah, Bibi Maryam's Kothi and in the Hammam—we find a connecting link between the ancient Indian art of Ajanta and that of Central Asia carried to perfection by the school of Behzad. It was Akbar's policy to make everything meet halfway, whether in politics or in religion or in art. The art of Ajanta was indigenous to the soil of India whereas that of Behzad was a foreign graft on the stem of the ancient Indian art tradition. Indian subjects are treated under the Perso-Mongol technique of the school of Behzad. But the spirit of Ajanta, to reproduce scenes not Indian, is as conspicuous in Fathpur-Sikri as in the caves of Ajanta. The sculpture of Fathpur-Sikri is also a reflex of the national mind of the Indian Empire of Akbar if Huxley's dictum that sculpture is the index of a nation's genius and philosophy is true.

Fate of Sikri

Fathpur-Sikri and *'Din-i-Ilahi* are the twin offsprings of Akbar's mind. The fate of Fathpur-Sikri was different from that of *Din-i-Ilahi* (the Divine Faith of Akbar). The fundamental principle of *Din-i-Ilahi* was universal, while that of the other national. In the universalism of *Din-i-Ilahi* there was also an imprint of nationalism, namely, foundation of a school of theosophy and religious practice which could unite the eclect

of both the communities. *Din-i-Ilahi* was offered for acceptance to the best minds of the time. But it is the fate of a prophet and a poet not to be appreciated in the circle of familiarity. Even Bhagwan Das, as Badauni writes, was ready to embrace Islam rather than to become a member of the Divine Faith.

But Fathpur-Sikri had a different tale to tell. The synthetic Hindu-Muslim national style of Akbar was enthusiastically copied by the Hindus in their buildings. The closest copy of the architecture of Fathpur-Sikri is to be found in the palaces of the citadel of Ambar, built by Man Singh and his successors. During the period of Hindu reaction, that brought into existence many a powerful Rajput state, the tradition of Fathpur-Sikri remained undisturbed. Sikri remained the national style of architecture with the Hindus whereas Musalmans discarded it subsequently. The rulers of Alwar, Jodhpur, Bikaner and Malwa kept alive this national tradition of architecture.

After the death of Akbar there came a reaction against red sandstone, against Hindu lintel and relief decoration as smacking of infidelity. Lions and peacocks were out of tune with the spirit of Islam. Among the successors of Akbar only Shahjahan reached him in the grandeur of conception and a certain amount of human feeling. The period of the youth of the empire passed with Akbar and the maturity set in with the lyric age of Shahjahan. Shahjahan was perhaps more correct in taste and his archiecture has more grace than strength. But for the marble and the *pietro dura* decoration and above all the Taj, the style of Shahjahan would have been considered a decline since days of Akbar.

Sikandarah

The last important building in which Akbar was personally concerned was his tomb at Sikandarah, near Agra, which was commenced by himself and completed by his son Jahangir in 1613 A.D. It is composed of five square terraces, diminishing as they ascend, and the only edifice of the period at all resembling it is Akbar's five storeyed pavilion, or Panch Mahal, at Fathpur-Sikri, designed after the model of a Buddhist Vihara. The absence of the traditional dome or *Chhatri* on the top storey, has given rise to speculations. Some say

that the tomb looks truncated having no head. But a thorough scrutiny of the upper storey brings home the point that the cenotaph of the Sun-worshipper Akbar was purposely left open—open to the rays of the Sun.

The mausoleum is one of the most ambitious productions attempted by the Mughals. To many the structure might appear architecturally incongruous and ineffective. But Jahangir honoured his father with tomb which harmonized with the taste and character of Akbar.

Sikandarah not only enshrines the mortal remains of Akbar but is his living personification. The style is unique and there seems reflected the artistic, eclectic and cosmopolitan nature of the versatile monarch.

I'timad-ud-daulah

Another famous building of Jahangir's reign at Agra, the tomb of I'timad-ud-daulah, a distinguished nobleman and father of Jahangir's queen Nur Jahan, by whom it was built in 1628 A. D., is almost equally exceptional in other ways. The lavishly ornate spotless white marble mausoleum marks the supreme triumph of feminine influence on Mughal architecture and is a thing of rare beauty. Nur Jahan's creation stands in a class by itself and represents a new trend—the transition from the Indianized art of Akbar's reign to the Persianized style of Shah Jahan's time. Its *pietra dura* inlay, corner minarets, choice of riverbank site, its arrangement of lawns and parterres, pools and fountains, and pathways and streamlets—all is sure to have inspired the architect of the Taj.[42]

The Age of Marble

With the accession of Shah Jahan the lyrical age of Indo-Muslim architecture began. Shah Jahan, like Akbar, had unlimited ambition for building. But there was a marked transformation in temper and treatment. It was an age of marble as against red sandstone. The style became more Persianized and the traditions of Akbar received a set-back.

Buildings at Agra

Shah Jahan built many buildings within the Agra fort. The most important of those are the Khas Mahal (Private Palace),

the Shish Mahal (Palace of Mirrors), the Musamman Burj (Octagonal Tower), the Diwan-i-Khas (Hall of Private Audience), the Diwan-i-'Am (Hall of Public Audience), and the Moti Masjid (Pearl Mosque).

The Khas Mahal or the haram of Shah Jahan, also called *Aramgah-i-Muquddas* (Holy Abode of Rest), "With all its feeble prettiness, but at the same time markad with that peculiar elegance which is found only in the East;"[43] still reminds of its past glory. The Diwan-i-Khas, mentioned in Persian chronicles as *Ghusal Khanah* (*i.e.* Bath), is "one of the most elegant of Shah Jahan's buildings, being wholly of white marble inlaid with coloured stones, and the design of the whole being in the best style of his reign".[44] The Moti Masjid is a chaste structure of white marble situated on a high ground sloping from west to east, and commands a good view of the imperial buildings. The central chamber is surmounted by three graceful domes resting on a triple row of pillars which in all distant views, in the eloquent words of Bayard Taylor, "are seen like silvery bubbles which have rested a moment on its walls, and which the west breeze will sweep away".

Taj Mahal

All the architectural experiences recede into the background when compared with that materialized vision of loveliness known as the Taj Mahal, a monument which marks the "perfect moment" in the evolution of Indo-Muslim architectures.[45] The broad conception of this unique memorial can only be attributed to the imaginative mind of Shah Jahan himself, but it was the genius of Ustad Ahmad Lahori, entitled as *Nadir-ul-'Asr*, which translated his ideal into such a perfection of architectural accomplishment.[46] The Taj is not only the mausoleum of Mumtaz Mahal but Mumtaz herself if analysed poetically and that is why it is unrivalled for its tender beauty in the whole of the world.

ARCHITECT OF THE TAJ

So far, it has been a matter of speculation as to who was the real architect of the Taj ? The experts of Indo-Muslim history and architecture revel in half-established theories based

on vague generalisations for want of definite data. Fergusson, while dealing with the Tomb of Itimad-ud-daula, incidently remarks that the Taj was most probably designed by Ali Mardan Khan, a Persian refugee. Majumdar in his *Imperial Agra of the Mughals*, also ascribes it to Ali Mardan Khan, who has also the support of Dr. Burgess. V. A. Smith challenges this theory by saying that this view "goes against the Persian histories of the reign of Shah Jahan". He suggests the name of Ustad 'Isa, a citizen of Agra, as the chief architect. Sleeman holds that Austin-de-Bordeux a skilled French engineer and craftsman, is the man who symbolised Shahjahan's love in marble. A pious assertion is made by the Augustinian friar, Father Sebastian Manrique, that the chief architect of the Taj was an Italian adventurer in Shahjahan's employ, one Geronimo Veroneo. Vincent Smith is inclined to accept this view while admitting that Ustad 'Isa might have taken up the work at a later date after the death of Veroneo, who died in India and was buried at Lahore.

Thanks to the spirit of research and luckily for us the architect of the Taj has been identified. And he is *Nadir-ul-'Asr* Ustad Ahmad Lahori !

In 1931 Sayyid Sulaiman Nadvi drew the attention of the scholars towards Ustad Ahmad Lahori as a great architect of Shahjahan's reign in an article *Lahore ka ek M'emar Khandan* read before *Adara-i-Maarif-i-Islamia* Lahore. Dr. Abdullah Chughtai took his Doctorate from Paris in 1937 on the subject of the History of the Taj. His thesis, written in French, establishes the fact that Ahmad Lahori, who held the title of *Nadir-ul-'Asr* (Wonder of the Age), is the architect of the Taj. Though the name of Ahmad Lahori is occasionally mentioned in the contemporary Persian chronicles like *Amal-i-Saleh* of Mohammad Saleh Kambo, *Badshahnama* of Abdul Hamid Lahori and *Tarikh-i-Shahjahan* (Ms. in Deoband Library), it is *Diwan-i-Mahandis* of Hafiz Lutfullah *Mahandis*, the second son of Ustad Ahmad Lahori, which removes all ambiguities and uncertainties surrounding the creator of the Taj Mahal. Lutfullah Mahandis, a craftsman himself, is the author of several well-known works especially on Mathematics.[47]

Ustad Ahmad Lahori was the chief architect of Shahjahan's court, well-versed in the science of building-craft. Shahjahan

favoured him with the lofty title of *Nadir-ul-'Asr* and his son Hafiz Lutfullah with *Mahandis* (roughly an engineer). Ustad Ahmad died in 1059 A.H. about nine years after the completion of the Taj. His was the brain responsible for the creation of the Taj, and the Red Fort of Delhi as is evident from the following lines of the *Diwan-i-Mahandis* :

احمد معمار کہ در فن خویش صد قدم زاہل ہنر بود پیش کرد بحکم شہ کشور کشا

روضۂ ممتاز محل را بنا باز بحکم شہ انجم سپاہ شاہ جہاں داور گیتی پناہ قلعہ دہلی

کہ ندارد نظیر کرد بنا احمد روشن ضمیر ایں دو عمارت کہ بیاں کردہ ام در صفتش

خامہ رواں کردہ ام یک ہنر از گنج ہنر ہائے اوست یک گہر از کان گہرہائے

اوست ۔

(Ahmad, the archithct who was hundred steps ahead than others in his art, by the orders of the King, the Conqueror of Kingdoms, built the Tomb of Mumtaz Mahal. Afterwards, by the orders of Shahjahan, the Refuge of the World, the Commander of the Stars, Ahmad, the Enlightened one, built the peerless Fort of Delhi. These two buildings which have been highly praised and described by me, are some of his (Ahmad's) treasures of arts and some pearls out of his mines of pearls).

Ahmad Lahori is no more but the Taj survives—immortal, always fresh with the raptures of love and tears. Even the name that gave concrete shape to the spiritual emotions of Shahjahan and Mumtaz Mahal is buried in oblivion but for the humble record of his own son just to give expression to the feelings of honour and pride and his associations with it.

Buildings at Lahore

The alterations in the group of palaces within the fort of Lahore were similar to those effected at Agra, a number of Akbar's sandstone structures being swept away to make room for pavilions of a more approved type. In their place rose most of the buildings towards the northern side of the enclosure such as the Diwan-i-'Am, the Khwabgah (Bed Room),

the Shish Mahal, the Musamman Burj and the Naulakha, but some of these have again been subjected so modifications and elaborations at a later date.[48]

Palace at Delhi

After a reign of eleven years at Agra, Shah Jahan desired to move his capital to Delhi. The foundation of the city of Shahjahanabad was laid in 1638 A.D., its principal feature being the palace fortress, the *Qila h-i-Mu'alla* now known as Lal Qila or Red Fort.

Though the palace at Agra is perhaps more picturesque, and historically certainly more interesting, than that of Delhi, the latter had the immense advantage of being built at once and on one uniform plan. What Shah Jahan built at Agra is soberer, and in somewhat better taste than at Delhi. Nevertheless, "the palace at Delhi is, or rather was the most magnificent palace in the East—perhaps in the world".[49] "Every feature of this plan is regular and formal, most of it being laid out in squares, there is hardly an oblique line or curve in the entire scheme. The finest art was lavished on the succession of palaces along the eastern wall so that when in its prime no series of buildings could have been more resplendent".[50]

The great hall of the Diwan-i-'Am is the central feature of the eastern side of the court which is entered through the Naubat Khanah (Music Gallery). The inside of the hall is divided up by columns into three aisles. The western facade is adorned with ten columns supporting engrailed arches. Set in a recess in the centre of the back wall is a marble baldachin known as the *Nashiman-i-Zill-i-Ilahi* (the seat of the shadow of God). Here on ceremonial occasions the famous Peacock Throne (*Takht-i-Ta'us*) was installed, that jewelled magnificence since destroyed, but illustrations of which are preserved in some of the Mughal miniature painting.

The Rang Mahal (Palace of Colour), so called from coloured decoration with which it was formerly adorned, was the largest of the apartments of the royal haram, and in the time of Shah Jahan was known as the *Imtiyaz Mahal* (Palace of Distinction). 'Abdul Hamid Lahori writes of it : "In excellence and glory it surpasses the eight-sided throne of

heaven, and in lustre and colour it is far superior to the palaces in the promised paradise".[51]

A beautiful feature of the Rang Mahal is the *Nahr-i-Bihisht*, or the Canal of Paradise, which passes through it, and its setting besides being a gracefully ornate conception, accords perfectly with its architectural surroundings. It consists of a shallow marble basin sunk in pavement, the perfumed water bubbling up out of a silver lotus flower on a slender stem rising from the centre. The design of the basin also consists of a large lotus-form of delicately modelled petals contained within a square bordered frame, the whole patterned so exquisitely as to move Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan to remark that "the waving of the plants and flowers under the dancing water is nothing less than a scene of magic (*'Alam-i-Tilismat*)".[52]

The Diwan-i-Khas was also known as the Shah Mahal (Royal Palace). Fergusson considers it "if not the most beautiful, certainly the most highly ornamented of all Shah Jahan's buildings. It is larger, certainly, and far richer in ornament than that at Agra, though hardly so elegant in design; but nothing can exceed the beauty of the inlay of precious stones with which it is adorned, or the general poetry of the design".[53] It is round the roof of this hall that the famous couplet runs :

Agar firdaus bar ru'e-zamin ast,
Hamin ast-o-hamin ast-o-hamin ast !

Jami Masjid

The Masjid-i-Jahan Numa or the Jami Masjid was built on a hillock outside the fort within the precincts of the city of Shahjahanabad. It was finally completed in 1658 A.D. The advantage of the height gives it a commanding appearance. The interior of this sanctuary is as logical in its design as the exterior. It is one of the finest and most elegant mosques of the world and one of the masterpieces of Shah Jahan. Against the background of red sandstone, the insertion of white and black marble produce a singular aesthetic effect. The inscription on the fourth door of the central Chamber reads :

Gar za taq-o-qubbah-i-maqsurah ash ju'enishan,
Hech natawan guft ghayr az kahkashan-o-asman;
Fard bude qubbah gar, gardun na bude sani-ash,
Taq bude taq gar, juft-ash na bude kahkashan.[54]

Aurangzeb

Whatever the causes, whether personal, political or both, the architectural productions during the later half of the seventeenth century were less numerous and of a lower standard than those erected before. The buildings that were built under Aurangzeb reveal his morose disposition and orthodox ideals.

In 1662, Aurangzeb added the small but chaste Moti Masjid or Pearl Mosque to the buildings in the fort of Delhi. The Pearl Mosque does not belie its name as it is a choice marble structure of the most polished type.

The Jami' or Badshahi Mosque at Lahore, erected in 1674 A.D., "is a building of considerable merit and the latest specimen of Mughal architectural style".[55]

In the now decayed city of Aurangabad, the "Delhi of the South", the mausoleum of Rabiy'ah Daurani, wife of the Emperor Aurangzeb, built by his third son 'Azam Shah in 1678 A.D., is illustrative of the decline and deterioration in taste and style and in the building art in general.

Aurangzeb himself lies buried in the court of the tomb of Shaikh Zain-ud-din at Khuldabad, a small hamlet just above the caves of Ellora, and with him also sleeps the Tartar glory.

These are some of the gems of the Indo-Muslim architecture. But without the courts and corridors connecting them, without the running water and blossoming gardens, without laughing beauties and singing birds and the havoc wrought by time and terrene, they loose all their meaning and more than half their beauty. Situated in the middle of desolation all round, they look like jewels torn from their settings.

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2. A.S.G. Butler, *The Substance of Architecture*, quoted by C.H. Reilly cited above, p. 970.
3. Reilly in *Outline of Modern Knowledge*, p. 970.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 971.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Cf. Shaikh Ahmad, *Muslim Architecture*, Lahore, 1941, pp. 3-6.
7. E.B. Havell, *Indian Architecture*, London, 1913, Preface.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 3.
9. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London, 1910, II, 288.
10. John Marshall, The Monuments of Muslim India, *The Cambridge History of India*, Cambridge, 1928, III, 568.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 576.
12. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London, 1910, II, 214.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Archaeological Survey of India, vol. IV, Preface.
15. Asiatic Researches, vol. XIV, Calcutta, 1822.
16. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Asar-us-Sanadid*, 2nd ed., Nawal Kishore Press, 1895, pp. 54-57.
17. Journal of Royal Society of Arts, January, 1911, p. 179.
18. Sen, *Delhi and Its Monuments*, p. 4.
19. "An Account of the Inscriptions on the Cootub Minar", vol. XIX, Calcutta 1822, pp. 480-89.
20. Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi.*
21. *The History of the Kutb Minar*, Bombay, 1911.
22. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Asar-us-Sanadid*, p. 6. (Chap. IV).
23. The pre-Mughal Indo-Muslim architecture is generally but wrongly styled as "Pathan". However, it is too late to coin any new nomenclature.
24. Zafar Hasan, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 10, p. 14.
25. For an account of Tughlaquabad and the tomb of Ghiyasuddin Cf. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Asar-us-Sanadid*, pp. II, 12.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
27. For details see J.A. Page, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* (A Memoir on Kotla Firoz Shah), No. 52.
28. John Marshall, The Monuments of Muslim India, *The Cambridge History of India*, Cambridge, 1928, III, 589-591.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 594, 595.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 595.
31. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (*The Islamic Period*), Bombay, p. 96.

32. Havell, *Indian Architecture*, London, 1913, Chap. IX, p. 160.
33. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Asar-us-Sanadid*, 2nd ed., p. 30.
34. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London, 1810, p. 294.
35. E.W. Smith, *Moghul Architecture of Fathpur-Sikri*, Allahabad, 1894, I, 1.
36. W.R. Lethaby, *Medieval Art*, pp. 12, 13.
37. R.F. Chisholm, *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, January, 1911, p. 173.
38. Cf. Nandalal Chatterji, "India's Biggest Victory Gateway", *Glories of Uttar Pradesh*, 1957, pp. 126-32.
39. Cf. E.W. Smith, *The Moghal Architecture of Fatehpur-Sikri*, Part III, Allahabad, 1897.
40. *Journal and Proceedings of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1874, p. 1747.
41. Thomas William Beale, *Miftah-ut-Tawarikh*, Nawal Kishore Press, Kanpur, p. 181. The book was written after 1848 A.D.
42. Cf. N.L. Chatterji, "Itamaduddaulah's Tomb at Agra", *Journal of Indian History*, Trivandrum, August, 1954.
43. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London, 1910, II, 308.
44. *Ibid.*, II, 308.
45. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (*The Islamic Period*), p. 117.
46. *Ibid.*
47. The *Diwan-i-Mahandis*, written in the author's own handwriting is in possession of Sayyid Mahmud of Bangalore. Further details about the author of *Diwan-i-Mahandis* and the architect of the Taj could be had from *Baghistan* of Imamuddin Riyazi, son of Hafiz Lutfullah, Ms. in Lucknow University Library.
48. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (*The Islamic Period*), pp. 110, 111.
49. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, II, 309.
50. Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 111.
51. Also Cf. *Asar-us-Sanadid*, Chap. II, pp. 9, 10.
52. *Ibid.*, Chap. II, p. 11.
53. Fergusson, *op. cit.*, II, 311.
54. Cf. *Asar-us-Sanadid*, Chap. III, pp. 7, 8.
55. Fergusson, *op. cit.*, II, 321. Also see Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 120, 121.

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CHAPTER V

SAYYID AHMAD SHAHID OF RAI BARELI

Birth and Ancestry

Sayyid Ahmad *Shahid* (the Martyr), also known as Mir Ahmad and affectionately called "Mian Saheb", was born to Sayyid Muhammad 'Irfan's second wife Najah or 'Afiyah,[1] daughter of Sayyid Abu Sa'id (d. 1779), a disciple of Shah Waliullah *Muhandis* Dehlavi (1703-1763), on Monday, November 29, 1786 (6th *Safar*, 1201 A.H.)[2] at Rae Bareli, now a district of the state of Uttar Pradesh in the Indian Union.[3] According to the family tree, he was the direct descendant, in the thirty-sixth degree, of Prophet Muhammad's son-in-law Hazrat Ali, the fourth Khalif.[4]

Of the ancestors of Sayyid Ahmad, one Sayyid Rashiduddin, it is said, for the first time migrated with his family from Medina and settled in Baghdad, where he died. His son, Sayyid Qutbuddin, immigrated to Ghazni. In 607 A.H. (1210-11 A.D.), Sayyid Qutbuddin with his relations and disciples (*murids*), came to Hindustan. Sultan Eletmish (1210-1235) treated him with honour and reverence.[5] But Sayyid Qutbuddin did not stay in Delhi. He proceeded eastward and settled at Kara, near Allahabad.[6] Afterwards, he was appointed as *Shaikh-ul-Islam* at Delhi[7].

After six generations, Sayyid Qutbuddin II moved from Kara to Jais,[8] near Rae Bareli. His son, Sayyid Alauddin, lived in Jais. But Sayyid Alauddin's son, Sayyid Mahmud, got an appointment as the Qazi of Nasirabad.[9] about ten miles from Rae Bareli, where he settled. After his death, his son Sayyid Ahmad succeeded as the Qazi at Nasirabad. But due to some personal reasons he resigned his post and went to Rae Bareli.

Sayyid Shah "Ilmullah (1623-1685), one of the great-grandfathers of Sayyid Ahmad *Shahid*, became a disciple (*murid*) of Shaikh Adam Banuri (d. 1053 A.H./1643 A.D.),[10] a prominent *Khalifah* (deputy, styled as *Khalifah-i-A'zam* and *Khalifah al-Zamani*) of *Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani* Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi (1563-1624).[11] Daulat Khan, a zamindar of Lohanipur, Rae Bareli, gave to Shah 'Ilmullah ten *bighas* of land on the banks of the river Sai'. The latter built a hut and a mosque on this piece of land and settled in Rae Bareli in 1640. The place became known as *Da'irah* Shah 'Ilmullah or *Takiah* Shah 'Ilmullah. It was here that Sayyid Ahmad was born and mostly spent the first forty years of his life.[12]

Sayyid Ahmad's father, Sayyid Muhammad 'Irfan, used to reside in Lucknow in connection with some employment. He died in 1800 A.D. when Ahmad was a boy of thirteen. He is buried in Rae Bareli.[13]

Early Career

The *maktab* ceremony of Sayyid Ahmad, in keeping with the time-honoured Muslim custom, was performed on February 15, 1791 when he was four years, four months, and four days old (reckoned according to Islamic calendar). Learning and piety being the family distinctions, no stone was left unturned to get him thoroughly educated. But he negatived all efforts and turned a deaf ear to all counsels and discourses. He attended school for three years but could not proceed beyond recognizing the three "Rs".[14] On the other hand, he was very fond of adventures, manly sports, gymnastics, swimming, and wrestling.[15] He also learnt sword-fighting, shooting and archery. As a result, he developed a robust physique and possessed great physical strength.[16] But being born in a reputed family of theologians and due to constant association and discourse with the learned, he acquired a fairly good knowledge of Persian and Arabic and was well-grounded in theological lore.[17]

At the age of about seventeen, Sayyid Ahmad, with some of his friends, left Rae Bareli for Lucknow[18] in search of livelihood.[19] He stayed there for about seven months without much success.[20] Afterwards, he left for Delhi and, in 1807, became a disciple of Shah Abdul 'Aziz (1746-1824), son of

Shah Waliullah Dehlavi.[21] He was initiated into *Chishtiah*, *Qadiriyah* and *Naqshbandiah* orders and was subsequently appointed a *khalifah*.[22]

In 1808, Sayyid Ahmad returned to Rae Bareli. The same year, he was married in his own family to Zohra, daughter of Sayyid Muhammad Raushan. A year after the first child, a daughter, Sarah was born in the wedlock.

By the end of 1809, he left Rae Bareli the second time for Rajasthan and sought employment with Nawab Amir Khan (1768-1834),[23] son of Muhammad Hayat Khan. He was a great leader of men, brave, courageous, and had a large, well-equipped and well-trained army under his command.[24] Sayyid Ahmad stayed in the camp of Amir Khan for about seven years.[25] From the contents of a letter and his own statement, it appears not improbable that the Sayyid had a mission in his mind while serving the Nawab, namely, to see Amir Khan in the role of a possible Saviour of the decadent glory of Islamic polity in India.[26] But on November 9, 1817 Amir Khan concluded a treaty with the British East India Company according to which the former was recognized as the first Nawab of Tonk.[27] Amir Khan died in 1834 as a good ally of the British.[28]

Sayyid Ahmad felt disillusioned at the turn of events. He left the service of Amir Khan and came back to Delhi in 1818.[29]

Beginnings of the Movement

Sayyid Ahmad stayed in Delhi for about a year. He also toured the adjoining districts of the Doab, *e.g*, Meerut, Ghaziabad, Saharanpur and Muzaffarnagar (all in Uttar Pradesh), with a view to induce Muslims to follow the *Shariat* and also probably to explore the possibilities of an armed uprising to restore Muslim political dominance, and assess the attitude and reaction of Muslim masses towards his activities.[30]

At Delhi, Sayyid Ahmad began to enroll disciples (*murids*). When the two stalwarts of Muslim orthodoxy in Northern India, Sayyid Abdul Hayy (d. Feb., 1828)[31] and Shah Muhammad Isma'il *Shahid* (d. May, 1831),[32] also got themeslves enrolled amongst the disciples, the movement of Sayyid Ahmad

definitely entered into a more popular and prosperous phase. It had a tremendous effect on the common mind. Sayyid Ahmad's fame spread far and wide. People flocked to him in large numbers to enter into his discipleship (*muridi*) with the result a large band of devoted followers gathered round him[33]. It is interesting to note that the Sayyid was always dressed like a soldier and carried with him a sword or dagger and a gun or revolver all the time[34].

In June 1819, Sayyid Ahmad returned to Rae Bareli. He stayed here for about two years. He spent most of his time in touring the neighbouring places like Kanpur, Allahabad, Benares (now Varanasi), Lucknow and Sultanpur (all districts of Uttar Pradesh now), preaching the gospel of true Islam, enrolling disciples, persuading the Muslims to the *Shari'at*, and inviting them to *jihad-i-sabi-lillah*.[35] He laid particular emphasis on the reform among women whom he considered to be more superstitious by nature. He vehemently condemned the observance of un-Islamic Hindu custom by Muslim widows not to marry again after the death of their first husbands.[36] He exhorted them to remarry and himself set an example by marrying Waliah, the widow of his elder brother Syyid Muhammad Ishaq (d. April, 1819) in 1820.[37]

In 1821, Sayyid Ahmad decided to perform the *Hajj* (pilgrimage to Mecca).[38] He left Rae Bareli the same year by the end of July for Calcutta *en route* to Arabia by boat sailing down the river Ganges. About four hundred persons accompanied him. He proceeded rather slowly, halting at important places on the banks of the river, preaching as usual, enrolling disciples, and receiving rich presents. He reached Calcutta in November, 1821 and stayed there for about three months. Thus he was able to come into contact with the Muslims of the eastern parts of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Bengal[39]. According to Muhammad Latif "the force of his eloquence, coupled with his religious fervour, and the sanctity attached to his declared mission, gained for him a large number of followers from among the Mahomedan population".[40]

He embarked from calcutta in February, 1822 with a party of about seven hundred as more people had joined him on the way. The pilgrims reached Mecca on May 21, 1822. In

October, he visited Medina and returned to Mecca by the end of the year. In April, 1823, Sayyid Ahmad touched Bombay and stayed there for a fortnight. In June, 1823, he was back in Calcutta and came up the Ganges upto Allahabad. He was in Rae Bareli on April 29, 1824.

During this trip Sayyid Ahmad was also presented arms and ammunitions by his admirers. The articles which he himself purchased on the way were mostly guns, rifles and pistols.[41] The financial position of Sayyid Ahmad and party was now better than before.[42]

On his return, Sayyid Ahmad threw himself body and soul into preparations for an armed opposition to the enemies of Islam. To him an unbeliever was an enemy of God, no matter whether he was Indian or foreigner—Sikhs or Britishers. Perhaps his greatest mistake was to alienate the sympathies of all at the same time and betrays a lack of imaginative grasp of the vitals of the situation. Indeed, he was neither a diplomat nor a strategist. His was a simple soul overflowing with sound belief and sincerity of purpose,—to regain Muslim political predominance and to rescue Islam of his own denomination; and apparently the death of a martyr (*shahadat*) was the ultimate and highest bliss. Consequently, he decided to fight the Sikhs first.

The Hijrat

With the beginning of the year 1825, the *jihad* campaign was in full swing. Tours were organized and invitations (*da 'wat*) were extended to the believers to come in and join. Shah Isma'il and Maulana Abdul Hayy were most prominent in these activities. The movement appears to have attracted adherents from all over the country.[43] Sayyid Ahmad decided to migrate (*hijrat*) from Indian territories and to make North-West Frontier of India (now in Modern Pakistan) his centre from where to wage the holy war more effectively.[44] Hence, on Monday, January 16, 1826 he moved out of Rae Bareli with about six hundred *Mujahids* (holy warriors). He chose rather a circuitous route evidently avoiding the Sikh territories. He reached Sind *via* Gwalior, Tonk and Ajmer. In Sind, he was generally suspected as a spy of the British and was coldly received.[45]

He left Shikarpur (in Sind) on July 20, 1826, crossed the Bolan Pass and reached Quetta. Here also he did not get any active support from Mihrab Khan, the chieftan of Baluchistan, and the masses.[46] He started from Quetta on August 22, 1826 and reached Qandahar on September 1, 1826. He encamped outside the gates of the city. Purdil Khan, the chief of Qandahar, put a ban on Sayyid Ahmad to take any Qandahari with him; nonetheless, about three hundred men joined the ranks of Sayyid Ahmad. He also asked him to leave Qandahar as soon as possible.[47] The Sayyid marched from Qandahar on September 7, 1826 and touched Ghazni on 26th of the same month. After a brief halt of two days, he started from Ghazni on September 28, 1826 and entered Kabul in the first week of October. He stayed there for about a month and a half. In Kabul, he was welcomed warmly but could not get substantial support from the Afghan chiefs as they were fiercely engaged in internecine warfares.[48] In the third week of November, 1826 he left Kabul for Peshawar and reached Charsadda[49] in Hashtnagar by the end of the month. He finally encamped at Naushera (Naushahra) on December 19, 1826. Here the response was favourable and enthusiasm tremendous, and the ranks of the *Mujahidin* began to swell.[50] Now everything was ready for waging *jihad* against the Sikhs.

In this connection it may be pointed out that the tribesmen who joined Sayyid Ahmad, were motivated more by the jealousies and rivalries amongst themselves rather than by a zeal for *jihad*. The Yusufzais[51] were at this juncture apprehensive of the designs of the Durrani (Abdali) chief Yar Muhammad Khan Barakzai[52] of Peshawar who had gone over to the side of their great enemy Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1780-1839).[53] Secondly, the Ghaljis (Ghilzais *modo Persico*), former rulers of Afghanistan, were hostile to the Durranis, the then rulers. The Yusufzais and Ghaljis[54] considered Sayyid Ahmad's *jihad* campaign a happy augury and hailed him as their deliverer.[55] But the Sikhs also were not without friends; they had their supporters in the ranks of the Afghans. The holy war (*jihad*) lost much of its holy character and Islamic spirit when political considerations and personal factors silently crawled into it.

In the Field of Action

The Sikhs were not unaware of the activities and movements of Sayyid Ahmad.[56] According to some, in keeping with the injunctions of the *Shari'at*, Sayyid Ahmad had already sent an ultimatum to Ranjit Singh calling upon him either to accept Islam or to pay *Jiziyah* (Poll-tax); otherwise the sword would decide the issue.[57]

The issue was to be decided by the sword. Sardar Budh Singh Sindhianwalia, a relation of Ranjit Singh,[58] crossed the Indus and took his position at Akora (town on the river Landai in Peshawar district), sixteen miles east of Naushera. Sardar Budh Singh was joined by Khawas Khan, the nephew of Amir Khan Khatak, the chief of Akora.[59] Sayyid Ahmad decided upon a night assault (*shabkhun*). The *Mujahidin* were led by Allah Bakhsh Khan. They attacked the Sikhs in the early hours of December 21, 1826 and it was a success.[60]

The first successful encounter with the Sikhs turned the table in favour of Sayyid Ahmad. Fresh recruits from among the tribal people began to gather under his banner. At the request of his new associate Khadi Khan, the chief of Hund (village and the Indus ford-head), Sayyid Ahmad decided to establish his headquarters at Hund. Khadi Khan perhaps invited Sayyid Ahmad to Hund with an ulterior motive. Hund was exposed to Sikh inroads. The presence of *Mujahidin* there was expected by Khadi Khan to serve as a deterrent. The fact is verified by the subsequent betrayal of Khadi Khan.[61] Moreover, it should be noted that the eagerness of the locals for loot threw *jihad* in the background. Another encounter with the Sikhs soon after Akora, which took place at Hazro (now in the district of Campbellpur), proved that the booty, not Islamic state was the real issue with the tribal people[62]—a hard fact of life around which the whole history of the people of this land revolves.

On Thursday, January 11, 1827, Sayyid Ahmad assumed the authority of *Imam* with the unanimous consent of the tribal chiefs, *Shaikhs* and '*Ulama*' and the *Mujahidin* in general. Next day, his name was included in the *Khutbah* of Friday.[63] The Hindustani *Mujahidin* addressed Sayyid Ahmad as *Amir-ul-Muminin* (Commander of the faithful), among the

local population now on he was known as "Sayyid Badshah", and the Sikhs called him "*Khalifah*".[64]

The star of Sayyid Ahmad as a reformer and a fighter in the name of God, was now in the ascendant. His strength considerably increased. An important new convert was Fath Khan of Panjtar (in the Khudu Khel hills north of Swabi), who proved of much help to him in many ways. Yar Muhammad Khan of Peshawar, seeing the growing influence and popularity of Sayyid Ahmad, and the general attitude of the Yusufzai tribe against him. thought it prudent to enter into an alliance with the Sayyid.[65] A concentrated and unified action against the Sikhs was also agreed upon between the parties.[66]

Time was ripe to take the field against the Sikhs. Sardar Budh Sigh was holding out to the west of Indus at Shaidu, between Akora and Jahangira. Budh Singh, according to Sikh version, "called upon Syed Ahmad to know what his plans were. He wrote to Syed to tell him that if he harboured design against the State to cross the River and give him battle, and that if he was merely a Fakeer it would be no part of his calling to disturb the country; to which Syed replied that he would take the Fort of Attock in the first place and then give Bhoodh Singh battle afterwards".[67] Of course, the plan was to besiege and take the fort at Attock. But before an attack on Attock a battle with Budh Singh had to be fought.

Sayyid Ahmad marched out of Hund in the first week of March, 1827. Yar Muhammad Khan was already there with his force on the western bank of the river Landai. The *Mujahidin* also crossed the Landai river, passed through Naushera and a conjunction with the forces of Durrani Sardars of Peshawar was effected. It is alleged that Yar Muhammad Khan was not sincere in his promise and had secret understandings with the Sikhs.[68] He even tried to take the life of Sayyid Ahmad through poisoned food.[69] However, the Sayyid survived and the encounter took place the next day. When victory was touching the feet of Sayyid Ahmad, Yar Muhammad's treachery accounted for the complete rout of the *Mujahidin*.[70] In the words of Ranjit Singh : "The fanatics attacked Bhudh Singh, who dispersed and routed them with great slaughter. Yar Mohd. Khan had joined the

insurgents, but seeing the hopelessness of the part he had taken, tendered his submission which I accepted".[71] The Maharaja had every reason to celebrate the victory with firing of cannons, illumination, and a royal feast.[72] From onwards the Durranis accepted the yoke of Ranjit Singh finally and created all possible obstructions in the way of Sayyid Ahmad.[73]

Sayyid Ahmad retreated to Chunglai in the Chamla Valley. He did not despair. He tried to infuse fresh vigour and love of Islamic ideals in the hearts of the tribal people. He made an extensive tour of Yusufzai territories including Chamla, Buner and Swat and set up his centre at Khar in Bajaur. He also established contact with several other tribes, *e.g.*, Afridis[74], Khalils[75], and Mohmands.[76] Sulaiman Shah, the ruler of Chitral, assured full co-operation and promised to join personally the Sayyid's forces in case of an invasion of Kashmir.[77] During his stay at Khar, Sayyid Ahmad married Fatimah—his third marriage—in 1828.[78]

Shah Isma'il was deputed to concentrate in the district of Hazara, where he achieved considerable success in converting people in favour of *jihad*. Twice skirmishes between the *Majahidin* and the Sikhs also took place at Damgala and Shinkiari (September-October, 1827). "Shah Isma'il who had been known for his oratorical gifts and scholarship proved himself an excellent organizer and a fearless leader on the field of battle."[79]

The *jihad* became purely political when Sayyid Ahmad decided to deal with the Durranis first for without it success against the Sikhs was an impossibility. An indecisive encounter with Yar Mohammad Khan took place at Utmanzai, a village in Hashtnagar, in 1828. Many of the tribal Khans proved treacherous as usual and deserted the ranks of Sayyid Ahmad in favour of the Durranis.[80] Soon after Khadi Khan of Hund also went over to the side of the Sikhs and openly opposed the Sayyid and his movement.[81] The cause of conflict and desertion was something fundamental, namely, *Shariat* vs. tribal nomadism. "The Afghans like a king but detest a master", goes the proverb. They despised to be subservient to anything; no matter whether it was the *Shari'at* of Islam being enforced by an *Imam* of the faithful.[82]

Now, Sayyid Ahmad had to shift his headquarters to Panjtar. Ventura, the French general in the service of Ranjit Singh, made two futile attempts to oust the Sayyid from here. It had a heartening effect on the morale of the *Mujahidin* and provided a breathing spell to Sayyid Ahmad.[83]

To fight with his Afghan adversaries appeared to Sayyid Ahmad a logical corollary. In August, 1829, the Battle of Hund was fought and Khadi Khan was killed. This created more complications. The relations and supporters of the deceased joined hands with Yar Muhammad Khan Durrani, who came out to avenge the death of Khadi Khan. In September, 1829, Yar Muhammad Khan was defeated and killed at the Battle of Zaida, a village in Samah, the Yusufzai plain.[84] Thus, the two outstanding opponents of the Sayyid were removed from the scene. Needless to say that naturally his camp looked more courageous, confident and cheerful.

Sayyid Ahmad thought opportune to turn his attention towards Hazara and Kashmir. The chances of success appeared bright as the Muslim population between the valley of Kashmir and the Indus were unwilling subjects of the Lahore Darbar. Accordingly, he crossed Attock by the end of 1829; but he was repulsed by the Sikh troops under General Allard and Hari Singh Nalwa.[85] He was compelled to retire to the west of the Indus.[86] His plans to penetrate into Kashmir were also frustrated for the time being mainly due to the opposition of Painda Khan of Amb as he did not allow the *Mujahidin* to cross his territories to enter into Kashmir.[87] Consequently, Sayyid Ahmad decided to measure swords with Painda Khan, and the latter was defeated in the battles of 'Ashra and Amb in March, 1830.[88] He entered into an agreement with the Sayyid and stipulated to render active help in the *jihad*.[89] Soon after an encounter with the Sikhs took place at Phulra (1830) in which the *Mujahidin* suffered heavy losses.[90]

Fresh troubles arose when Yar Muhammad Khan's brother, Sultan Muhammad Khan Barakzai, the new Durrani governor of Peshawar, championed the cause of his late brother. He was supported by several other Khans who were reluctant to pay the *'Ushr* (tithe)[91] and did not see eye to eye with the enforcement of *Shari'at* in general.[92] Sayyid Ahmad

made a descent into the plains of Peshawar. The Battle of Mayar (also called Battle of Toru) was fought with the Durranis.[93] Sultan Muhammad Khan was defeated. Sayyid Ahmad entered Peshawar without further resistance late in the summer of 1830.[94]

Finding no way out Sultan Muhammad Khan appealed to the mercy of Sayyid Ahmad. He promised to join the *jihad* and not to deviate from the path of the *Shari'at*. Hence, Sayyid Ahmad restored Peshawar to Sultan Muhammad.[95]

The power of the Sayyid was now at its zenith and established his reputation as the most important figure in the politics of the region. But the undercurrent of discontent against him and the strict enforcement of the *Shari'at*, was also gaining momentum side by side. The tribal *'Ulema* sullenly brooded over the loss of their power, position and privileges. The Khans resented the subjection to the *Imamate* of Sayyid Ahmad. The tribal chiefs had submitted to the might of the *Mujahidin* and not to the *Imam* as such. The local fighters in *jihad* were mainly mercenaries actually actuated by the greed of *ghanimah* (booty). The decree of the Sayyid that "all young women of marriageable age should at once be wedded, and that the Yusufzai should resign their custom, prevalent among the Khans, whereby daughters and sisters were only disposed of to the wealthy in return for large dowries", cut across a peculiar maxim of the tribe.[96] It only added insult to injury when people were made to understand by the enemies of the Sayyid that it simply meant the assigning of the tribal maidens one by one to his needy Hindustani followers.[97] It was one thing that people in general were impressed by his piety, appreciated his devotion to God, and admired his courage and bravery, but it was entirely a different matter to imbibe the same zeal and spirit, more so when his *Shari'at* slashed the centuries old social setup and upset the political economy of the area.[98]

Sayyid Ahmad committed the mistake of his life when he tried to find out theological solutions for peculiar political and local problems. He did not benefit by the lessons of the past. The restoration of Peshawar to Sultan Muhammad Khan was a blunder.[99] If *jihad* against the Muslim chiefs of North-West Frontier was possible in accordance with the

Shari'at, the retention of Peshawar by the *Mujahidin* and turning it into a military base would not have been unjustified on the same grounds. With Peshawar in his possession Sayyid Ahmad would have been more effective in encountering the Sikhs and keeping tribal people within his range. Surely, *Shari'at* has nothing to do with strategy and its upholder was neither a von Clausewitz nor an Ata Turk.

The history repeated itself and with greatest fury. A widespread rebellion against the Sayyid and his *Shari'at* broke out by the end of the year 1830.[100] Sultan Muhammad Khan was its unofficial leader. The *Mujahidin* at the court of Peshawar and various other places were murdered in cold blood. Sayyid Ahmad's life's work was undone. He had no option but to leave the Yusufzai hills.[101] He migrated to Pakhli in Hazara and made Rajduwari his headquarters in January, 1831.[102]

Undaunted by reverses, Sayyid Ahmad began to work out his plans for *jihad* afresh. He established contact with the chieftains of the neighbourhood, persuading them to join hands in freeing Kashmir and Hazara from the clutches of the Sikhs.[103] During this time, the *Mujahidin* along with the local population successfully encountered the Sikhs at Bhogarmang and Muzaffarabad.[104] With the coming of spring Rajduwari became unsafe. So, Sayyid Ahmad shifted his camp to Balakot considering it impregnable.[105]

Sayyid Ahmad's presence in the area was a constant source of trouble and anxiety to Prince Sher Singh, son of Ranjit Singh, who had been deputed to achieve the extinction of the Sayyid menace. Sher Singh planned to attack Balakot directly. Sayyid Ahmad on his part also resolved to fight the battle of his life here.[106] The Battle of Balakot, at the bottom of the Kaghan Valley, was fought on Friday, May 6, 1831. Discipline and generalship, superior number and better equipment, won the day for the Sikhs. Sayyid Ahmad along with his chief lieutenant Shah Isma'il, died fighting on the field. Colonel Alexander Gardner observes : "Syad Ahmad and the *maulvi* (Shah Isma'il), surrounded by his surviving Indian followers, were fighting desperately hand to hand with the equally fanatical Akalis of the Sikh army. They had been taken by surprise and isolated from the main body of the Syad's forces, which fought very badly without their leader. Even as I caught

sight of the Syad and *maulvi* they fell pierced by a hundred weapons. Those around them were slain to a man, and the main body dispersed in every direction." He sarcastically adds : "I was literally within a few hundred yards of the Syad when he fell, but I did not see the angel descend and carry him off to Paradise, although many of his followers remembered afterwards that they had seen it distinctly enough".[107] According to Captain C.M. Wade, "the Syed's body was identified and burnt by the Sikhs." Ranjit Singh "ordered a royal salute to be fired and the city of Amritsar to be illuminated in honour of the event".[108] H.T. Prinsep, Secretary to the Governor-General of India, directed Captain Wade to "offer the congratulation of the Governor-General to His Highness (Maharaja Ranjit Singh) on the event".[109]

AN ESTIMATE

Need of a Mujaddid

It is the belief of the Muslims that Islam is the final code of religion as revealed to Muhammad; and that he is the last Prophet (Khatim-un-Nabi'in) in the series of one hundred and twenty-four thousand sent by God from time to time before him. Hence, no new religion and no fresh prophet is to be expected to create a *Ummat* (a nation or state). But, in order to overhaul Islam and to restore it to its pristine purity, God will send "Majaddids", it was believed, in the times of spiritual decay and religious crisis. There are many predictions and assurances ascribed to Muhammed himself.[110] Nearly in every century after the death of the Prophet, there were Mujaddids and the Muslims do claim them as the regenerators of Islam.[111]

The distinction between the *Mahdi* and a *Mujaddid* is quite obvious. *Mahdi* means 'restorer', 'comforter' or a 'paraclete'; and *Mujaddid* connotes 'regenerator' or the 'renower'. *Mahdi* according to the Traditions, will come when Islam will be at its last gasp in the world. He will be the restorer of the glory of the faith. *Tajddid* (revival) is the function of restoring Islam from the gloom of ignorance which may have wrapped it, that is, to purge out of Islam unIslamic accretions. To attempt a compromise with other religions or

to effect a synthesis of beliefs is not the meaning of *Tajdid*. Therefore, a person who chalks out a programme for the betterment of the Muslim community at the cost of Islamic principles is not a Mujaddid; he may be a social reformer.[112]

An Estimate

Sayyid Ahmad *Shahid* is the third in the series of the *Mujaddids* (Regenerators) of Indian Islam following in the wake of *Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani* Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi and Shah Waliullah Dehlavi[113]. It is not only unfair but unhistorical to brand Sayyid Ahmad's movement as "Indian Wahhabism"[114]. Sayyid Ahmad's teachings have an indigenous origin. He is a link between the Religio-Political Reform Movement of orthodox Islam in India as initiated by *Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani* and the climax of Muslim reaction and communalism resulting in the creation of Pakistan.

When Sayyid Ahmad opened his eyes, the Indian subcontinent was under the grip of political anarchy, social breakdown and moral degradation. The Muslims were like the leaves of autumn—pale, lifeless, and a burden on the trunk of Islam. There was no central authority. Even the shadow of the Mughal Empire had disappeared in the darkness. The nucleus of the small independent Muslim kingdoms was also dropping out one by one like the beads of a rosary. The dawn of the nineteenth century saw British Imperialism firmly rooted on Indian soil—a natural and historical solution of political chaos and social turmoil.

Under the circumstances, Sayyid Ahmad considered only one honourable course open to him and his Muslim brothers, that is, to fight the forces of aggression whether Hindu, Sikh or Christian. He believed in the orthodox interpretation of the Quranic verse : *anzalna al-hadid fih-i-bas-un shadid.*[115] He also concurred with the *Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani* that "*Shari-'at* is under the shadow of the sword" (*al-Shar 'taht al-sajf*).[116] Hence, Sayyid Ahmad carried the Quran in one hand and sword in another. Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi tried to win over those who had political influence and military power. Shah Waliullah also endeavoured to canvass support for Islam and Muslim community in political and military circles. But Sayyid himself jumped into the field of action, armed to the

teeth, and died fighting for the cause of Islam. Evidently, he was a practical man. He believed more in action than sermons. He himself took the lead and did not hesitate in doing the humblest type of work,[117] though no work is undignified in Islam if it is not unlawful. He symbolizes the transition from the theological preachings of the *Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani* and metaphysical and mystical discourses of Shah Waliullah Dehlavi. He was the true representative of militant Islam.

But what was the net result of his activities ? Undoubtedly, according to Islam, he attained martyrdom (*shahadat*). For him and his sympathizers it was no mean satisfaction. His passionate devotion to Islam is commendable but his holy war for the glorification of Indian Islam was somewhat untimely and miscalculated. He failed to take a correct stock of the situation. Of course, *jihad* was the need of the hour but not with the sword, nor directed towards non-Muslims. The *jihad* would have been better waged within the Muslim society itself. The disintegration of the Mughal Empire and the rapid disappearance of the independent Muslim kingdoms founded on the bones of the Timurids, were due more to the moral laxity, social degeneration and mutual jealousies and rivalries among the Muslims themselves than to any external forces and factors. Sayyid Ahmad should have tried to remove the ills of the Islamic body-politic first. He made a start in the right direction but, perhaps, his religious enthusiasm blurred his vision. He rather unconsciously slipped into the political labyrinth which led him nowhere. Before a recourse to arms the believers should have been armed with ethical precepts and social sense. Even in the North-West Frontier, the centre of his activities, the desertion, treachery and hostility of the tribal people might appear staggering, showing thereby that the movement failed to strike its root in its homeland. The domestic quarrels were more important to the tribesmen than a fight for Islam. However, it must be said to his credit that Indian Muslims mostly gathered round the banner of orthodoxy and communalism even if they did not improve morally and socially.

It is difficult to agree with Muhammad Ja'far Thanesari,[118] Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan,[119] and Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan[120] that Sayyid Ahmad *Shahid* did not propose to fight the

British. It is equally too much to subscribe to the view of Mirza Hairat Dehlavi[121] that Sayyid Ahmad was instrumental in bringing about a *rapprochement* between Nawab Amir Khan of Tonk and the East India Company in 1817. Again, there is no truth in the assertion that Sayyid Ahmad acted as a stooge of the British Government.[122] But it appears certain that the Sayyid considered the British either a lesser evil or unbreakable; either, at least, not worthy of immediate attention or found himself helpless against the might of England. Here also he completely missed the point. He should have seen that it were the British who were the real threat. It should have been clear to him that the Nizam of Hyderabad-Deccan, Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan of Mysore, Sirajuddaulah of Bengal, Nawab-Wazirs of Avadh and even the Mughal Emperor, had suffered reverses at the hands of the East India Company. The failure of Muslim potentates was a signal to muster greater strength and courage and to do what could be done in India. The migration to North-West Frontier was an escape from realities.

Ghulam Rasul Mehr argues that Sayyid Ahmad considered the British more dangerous than the Sikhs and the statement of the Sayyid is there to support the supposition.[123] It is also true that Sayyid Ahmad regarded India a *Dar-ul-harb* and *jihad* was not possible while remaining inside the Indian territories. He, therefore, migrated to North-West Frontier, which was expected to be more responsive to his mission, to establish a secure centre.[124] But it may very well be brought forward that Sayyid Ahmad had too little political wisdom and insight to see the consequences of such a move. Obviously, the Punjab was the first stumbling block in the way of the establishment of an Islamic state, and a rupture with Ranjit Singh, the Akbar of Modern India, was inevitable.

The picture becomes clearer when we go through the Despatch (dated March 3, 1827) of Captain C. M. Wade, Political Assistant at Ludhiana, who informs Sir C.F. Metcalfe, Resident at Delhi : "The man (*i.e.*, Sayyid Ahmad) who is engaged in exciting the commotion (in the North-West Frontier region amongst Muslim tribesmen against the Sikhs) made himself notorious about two years ago by attempting to promote similar designs in Hindustan from which, I believe,

he was directed by Government to desist or leave the country. He availed himself of the last alternative. . . .".[125] Ghulam Rasul Mehr has also unwittingly provided clues to the refutation of his own thesis and indirectly corroborates the position as mentioned by Wade. Mehr says : "At 'Azimabad (Patna, Bihar), some Shi'as complained to the British officer that Sayyid Ahmad intends to wage *jihad* against the English. . . . But the officer ignored the complaint considering it an offshoot of Shi'a-Sunni rivalry".[126] According to Mehr, similar complaint was made to the officials of East India Company about Sayyid Ahmad's anti-British attitude during his stay in Calcutta but to no response and no notice was taken of it by British officers.[127] The inference is obvious : either there was a clear understanding between the British Government and Sayyid Ahmad or at least the Government were given to understand that the *jihad* was exclusively directed against the Sikhs. Cunningham also observes : "He was careful not to offend the English."[128] To credit Sayyid Ahmad with diplomacy is to break the argument by stretching it too far and is a negation of his whole career and personality. In this context the contention of Dr. Mahmud Husain, "To deal with one enemy at a time is commonsense",[129] also makes little sense.

Shah Waliullah Dehlavi considered the Marathas the first enemy of Islam in India. He succeeded in breaking their power through Ahmad Shah Abdali (1722-1772) at the Battle of Panipat (January 14, 1761) though the harvest was reaped by the victors of Plassey at Buxar in 1765. Similarly, Sayyid Ahmad concentrated his energies and resources against the Sikhs. His activities in Northern India which was under the sway of the East India Company, were not unknown to them.[130] The British diplomacy thought it convenient to connive at the *jihad* by passive neutrality.[131] We find instances where Muslims employed in the services of the Company freely and warmly welcomed Sayyid Ahmad and actively supported him with arms, ammunitions and finances.[132] There was no ban put on them by the British Government to be aloof from the Sayyid and his movement. It was only by the year 1839,[133] that the movement became anti-British and then it was ruthlessly suppressed.[134]

The Marathas could not forget the defeat of Panipat. The Sikhs could not think in better terms about Indian Muslims. Sayyid Ahmad's anti-Sikh activities earned double dividend for British Imperialism—the annexation of the Punjab (March 29, 1849) and the suppression of 1857 uprising, that was more Muslim in nature than an all-India affair, with the active co-operation of the Sikhs.

Sayyid Ahmad's work was not totally undone. The blood which oozed out of his throat calmed to a great extent the militant zeal of his followers. His mission descended into the peaceful channels of *tabligh* on which he himself had failed to pin his whole attention though it is open to challenge whether it did any good to the Indian Muslims or to India as a whole.

Bengal presents best example of this phenomenon, where one of his disciples Hajji Shariat 'atu' llah (1781-1840) started the Fara'izi movement, 'to cleanse the worship of God' by weeding out un-Islamic beliefs and customs prevalent in the Muslim society[135]. After him his son Dudu Miyan (1819-62) carried on the mission with militant zeal, to safeguard the economic interests and to secure social justice to the Muslim peasants[136]. The leaders of reform movements suffered from a misconception that return to purer form of Islam would 'bring Mundane glory' in its train. The Islamization of the Muslim society remained unfulfilled but its emphasis on 'a revival of the spirit of Islam', stirred the Bengali Muslims to claim for a 'distinct and exclusive identity.'[137] It sounded an ominous note,[138] the beginning of an era of mutual jealousy and hatred.[139] Broomfield is correct when he says that the new wave of resurgence while uniting the Muslims, also directed their hatred to the exploitative agencies, which were mainly Hindus in the form of landlords, tax collectors, and advocates etc. Sometimes the hatred turned explosive.[140] The Muslim revivalism brought in its wake pan-Islamic ideology and propaganda. It emphasised not only upon closer link with the Islamic world, but also implied a quest for a trans-Indian identity.[141] Shah Waliullah always exhorted the Muslims not 'to become part of the general cultural milieu of the sub-continent[142].

The verdict of a modern authority deserves serious consideration, who opines : "Shah 'Abdu'l Aziz genuinely held out

the hope that scholarly guidance could transform the life of Muslims. But his approach, at once gradualist and pragmatic, was rejected by several of the younger generation of the Wali-yu'llahi family under the leadership of a dynamic visionary, Sayyid Ahmad of Rae Barali in Oudh (1786-1831). His was to be nothing less than one of the genuinely utopian movements of modern India, in this case seeking not to withdraw as an exclusive sect but to destroy society itself and build it anew on a just and egalitarian basis. This endeavour, which emerged in the final years of his life, was the fruit of many strands evident in his earlier life."[143]

DOCUMENTATION

1. The name of Sayyid Ahmad's mother is differently given as Najah and 'Afiyah. Sayyid Muhammad 'Irfan's first wife, Naqiyah, daughter of Sayyid Muhammad Mu'in died early leaving a female child. Cf. Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, I, 51, 53.
2. *Makhzan-i-Ahmadi*, p. 12 ; Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, I, 56, 57, 80. Muhammad Ja'far Thanesari, author of *Tawarikh-i-'Ajibah* (popularly known as *Sawaneh-i-Ahmadi*), has somehow given the date of birth as 1st *Muharram* (1201 A.H.) (p. 3) which is not correct.
3. In the eighteenth century, Rae Bareli was in the *Sarkar* (division) of Manikpur in the *Subah* (province) of Allahabad. Cf. *District Gazetteer*, "Rae Bareli".
4. Nadvi, *Sirat Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, p. 45 ; Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, I, 27.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 31 ; cf. Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, B.I.S., p. 111.
6. Cf. Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, I, 30, 31. Kara is now a notified area in the district of Allahabad. See *District Gazetteer*, "Allahabad", *s.v.*
7. Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, B.I.S., pp. 348, 349. Also see Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the Thirteenth Century*, pp. 139, 164, 173.
8. Jais is the birth-place of the famous poet Malik Muhammad Jaisi (1493-1542). His *Padmavat* is well-known. Jais is now a part of Rae Bareli district. Cf. *District Gazetteer*, "Rae Bareli", *s.v.*
9. Ibid., *s.v.*
10. Shah Waliullah Dehlavi, *Anfas-ul-'Arifin*, p. 33. One of Sayyid Ahmad's grand-uncles, Sayyid Muhammad Sabir (d. 1779), was also

a disciple of Khwaja Muhammad Siddiq, son of Khwaja Muhammad Ma'sum, son of Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi., Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, I, 49.

11. For details about Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi see author's book, *A Social History of Islamic India*, Chaps. IX and X.
12. Cf. Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, I, 35-39.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
14. *Makhzan-i-Ahmadi*, p. 12 ; *Arwah-i-Salāsah*, p. 98.
15. *Tawarikh-i-'Ajibah*, p. 4 ; Nadvi, *Sirat Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, pp. 46, 48, 49 ; Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, I, 59, 60.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 73, 74 ; II, 357.
18. Lucknow is about fifty miles from Rae Bareli.
19. *Makhzan-i-Ahmadi*, pp. 13-15 ; *Tawarikh-i-'Ajibah*, p. 8 ; *Hayat-i-Tayyabah*, p. 273 ; *Waqa' i'-i-Ahmadi*, p. 5.
20. *Makhzan-i-Ahmadi*, p. 14ff. ; Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, I, 64-79.
21. Shah Abdul Aziz was known as excellent teacher, and a great Scholar from whom "rivers of Shari'at would flow in the world". Zuhūru'l-Hasan Kāsōlī, ed., Arwah-i-Salāsah, Saharanpur, 1950, p. 144 ; He gave a *fatawa* in 1803 :

"In this city [of Delhi] the *Imam-al-Musalmin* wields no authority, while the decrees of the Christian leaders are obeyed without fear [of the consequences]. Promulgation of the command of *Kufr* means that in the matter of administration and the control of the people, in the levy of land-tax, tribute, tolls and customs, in the punishment of thieves and robbers, in the settlement of disputes, in the punishment of the offences, the *Kāfirs* act according to their discretion. There are, indeed, certain Islamic rituals.....with which they do not interfere. But that is of no account. The basic principles of these rituals are of no value to them, for they demolish mosques without the least hesitation and no Muslim or *dhimmi* can enter the city on its suburbs except with their permission.....From here to Calcutta the Christians are in complete control." Shāh 'Abdu'l 'Aziz, *Fatāwā-i-'Azizi*, Delhi, 1311 A.H. pp. 1, 17 ; The *fatwa* appears in Shah 'Abdu'l 'Aziz, *Surur-i-'Azīzī al-Ma 'rūf Fatāwā-i-'Azizi*, Kanpur, n.d., p. 35. This *fatwa* is interpreted by the most of the Scholars as a source of legitimacy for the later jihad, with the notable exception of Mushir-ul-Haq, Indian Muslims' Attitude to the British in the Early Nineteenth Century : A Case Study of Shah Abdul Aziz, Master's Thesis, McGill University, Institute of Islamic Studies, 1964 ; Another authority infers : "The *fatawa* were, in fact, ambiguous on the political status of India, and more important for suggesting partial strategies for accommodating to the new circumstances and for establishing the role of 'Ulama as

guides to those circumstances.....'Abdu'l-'Aziz thus appears to have wanted Muslims to behave politically as if the situation were *daru'l-Islam*, for he gave no call to military action, yet he wanted them to recognise that the organisation of the State was no longer in Muslim hands, Barbra Daly Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India : Deoband*, 1860—1900, New Jersey, 1982, pp. 50-51 ; But Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi's interpretation is, "The *fatwa* was a call to religiously conscientious Muslims to mobilise themselves in the absence of any powerful Muslim warlord, under popular leadership and rise in defiance of the foreign power", *The Deoband School and the Demand for Pakistan*, Calcutta, 1963, p. 2.

22. Mehr, *op. cit.*, I, p. 76 ; *Makhzan-i-Ahmadi*, pp. 18, 19 ; "It is significant that Sayyid Ahmad's movement did not denounce sufism, as did the movements of the contemporary Wahhabis in Arabia and Fara'izi in Bengal. Indeed, his position among his followers was primarily that of a Sufi *Shaikh* to his disciples." Barbara Daly Metealf, *op. cit.*, p. 57 ; Annemarie Schimmel, *Pain and Grace : A Study of Two Mystical Writers of Eighteenth Century Muslim India*, Leiden, 1976, p. 20 and, *Classical Urdu Literature from the beginning to Iqbal*, Wiesbaden, 1975, p. 170. The authoress has emphasised that the *tariqah* of Sayyid Ahmad continued that of the same name begun as a branch of the *Naqshbandiyyah* by Mir Nasir 'Andalib in 1734 and continued by his son Mir Dard. Sayyid Ahmad did have instruction from Shah 'Abdu'l-Qadir, who studied Urdu from Dard. But B.D. Metcalf does not agree with A. Schimmel's contention. Further, "and is not noted in other works on Sayyid Ahmad. In any case these were important differences between the paths of Sayyid Ahmad and Dard. Thus Professor Schimmel describes one of the unique aspects of Mir Dard's teaching to be an extreme emphasis on the centrality of the *Shaikh*. After *fana* in God, she argues, he understood the subsequent stage of spiritual progression to be *baqa* in the Prophet, and, beyond that, *baqa* in the *Shaikh*, at which point the disciple had come full circle, having begun his meditations by identification with the *Shaikh*. Sayyid Ahmad, by contrast, opposed even the practice of *tasawar-i-Shaikh*", Mohiuddin Ahmad, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid : His Life and Mission*, 1975, p. 382. His version is that the *tariqat-i-muhammadiyyah* was "his (Sayyid Ahmad's) order" ; Christian W. Troll, ed., *Islam in Indian Studies and Commentaries*, New Delhi, 1982, An article by Qeyamuddin Ahmad, The Missionary literature of Wahabis, p. 53.

23. *Makhzan-i-Ahmadi*, pp. 82-84 ; *Hayat-i-Tayyabah*, p. 289 ; *Waqā'i-'i-Ahmadi*, I. 22. Amir Khan was not a Pindari. See Prinsep, *History of the Political and Military Transactions in India during the Administration of Marquess of Hastings*, I. 49. Also see Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, p. 12.

24. Cf. Mehta, *Lord Hastings and Indian States*, p. 11 ; Mill, *The*

History of British India, VIII, 922 ; Thompson. *The Making of the Indian Princes*, pp. 228-230.

25. According to Muhammad Latif he was "a petty officer of horse". *History of the Panjab*, p. 437.
26. *Waqa-i'-i-Ahmadi*, i, 22, 31, 32 ; Ubaidullah Sindhi, *Shah Waliullah awr unki Siyasi Tahrik*, p. 15 ; *Makhzan-i-Ahmadi*, p. 32 ; Sayyid Ahmad's letter, Patna University Manuscript, pp. 102-103 ; H.T. Prinsep, *Memoirs of a Pathan Soldier of Fortune, Nawab Amir Khan of Tonk*, Calcutta, 1832. It contains a full biographical account of the famous historical personage.
27. Hastings, *Private Journal*, November 17, 1817 ; Storey, *Persian Literature*, Vol. I, Part ii, pp. 690-691. Tonk is about eighty miles from Ajmer. See *Imperial Gazetteer of India, s.v.*
28. Thompson, *The Making of the Indian Princes*, p. 231.
29. Cf. Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, I, 103-108.
30. *Waqā'-i'-i-Ahmadi*, I, 47 ; Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, I, 123-127 ; .....The Sunni movements in particular have been suspicious of practices and beliefs associated with the sect of the Shi'ah and with what has been deemed the false Sufism of the medieval Shrines..... .....Men like the *Mujaddid*, the renewer, or the *Mahdi*, the rightly guided one, are seen to activate the movements, and great weight is put on their initiative in recalling Muslims to original revelation. .....Thus to analyse the *jihad* movement in north India in the 1820s and 1830s, one must of course take into account the circumstances in which the Sikhs and the British had effectively checked the autonomy of the Muslim ruler, changed the pattern of elite recruitment, and in other ways begun to make inroads on economic and social life. But one must also take into account the cultural pattern of *jihad*. Only then, for example, can one make sense of the decision to move to the frontier and not, say, to Bengal, where the economic dislocation had been far greater. "Mere rebellion" declared Sayyid Ahmad Barelwi, "was not intended". And only then can one understand something of the thoughts and goals——The whole meaning of the enterprise——to Sayyid Ahmad and his fellows., Barbara Daly Metcalf, *op. cit.*, pp. 67.
31. Sayyid Abdul Hayy was the nephew (sister's son) and son-in-law of Shah Abdul K. 'Aziz, son of Shah Waliullah Dehlavi.
32. Shah Muhammad Isma'il was the nephew of Shah Abdul 'Aziz. He was the son of Shah Abdul Ghani, the fourth son of Shah Waliullah Dehlavi. Shah Muhammad Isma'il *Shahid* should not be confused with Sayyid Isma'il, the son of Sayyid Ahmad's brother Sayyid Muhammad Ishaq and Waliah. At the time of the second marriage of Waliah after her widowhood to Sayyid Ahmad in 1820, Sayyid Isma'il was just a child of five or six. See Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, I, 54, 143.

33. *Ibid*, pp. 113-122; *Waqā-i'-i-Ahmadi*, I, 45; *Makhzan-i-Ahmad*; p, 35; Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 437.
34. Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, I, 120, 147, 175.
35. See Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, *s.v.*; Sayyid Ahmad and Shah Isma'il condemned pilgrimage to Hindu holy places, participation in Hindu festivals, consulting Brahmans and resorting to astrologers and fortune-tellers., Mir Shahamat Ali, 'Translation of the Takwiyat ul-Iman', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1852, pp. 320-57, passim; He emphasised that there was no intermediary between the believer and God, and condemned calling on "saints, apostles, imams, martyrs, angels and fairies", naming children after them, or wearing their special symbols. He condemned the discipline of repeating the name of a saint as well as that of a *tasauwur-i-Shaikh*. He criticised prostration at shrines and pilgrimages that entailed special dress, circumambulation, sacrificing animals, burning lights, and sanctifying water. He held that the common Fatihah ceremony, consisting of Qur'anic readings and distribution of food at shrines or graves, be performed simply, without lights and without restrictions as to the date or kind of food or condition of the participants.....Underlying the reformist discussion was the insistence that all ceremonies connected with the dead be understood to have the purpose of *isal-i-sawab*, 'the transfer of merit' for the performance of a commendable deed to the deceased. The purpose was not to be propiation of the dead or expectation of favours. Anything else, wrote Muhammad Isma'il—in a simile characteristically Indian—was "as putting the crown of a king on the head of [an untouchable] chamar.", Muhammad Isma'il, tr. Shahamat 'Ali, "*Taqwiyat ul-Iman*", pp. 326-27, *vide* Barbara Daly Metcalf, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-58.
36. *A History of the Freedom Movement*, i, Reprinted in India, 1984, p. 569. "The remarriage of widows among the Muslims had become almost as uncommon as among the Hindus. The Sayyid fought against this evil. Maulvi Isma'il Shahid actually persuaded his own widowed sister to remarry. This was considered to be a most unusual and revolutionary step. Lavish expenditure on the occasion of marriage, birth and death was also condemned. All kinds of superstitions were common and marriage, birth and death had become occasions for elaborate ritual. The Sayyid's approach to these institutions was puritanic. What he aimed at was a severe simplicity and avoidance of the smallest departure from Islamic practice."
37. Nadvi, *Sirat Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, pp. 73-76. Sayyid Ahmad had two brothers, elder than himself: (i) Sayyid Muhammad Ibrahim (d. 1808), and (ii) Sayyid Muhammad Ishaq (d. 1819). The latter is buried in Rae Bareli.

38. See Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam, s.v.*
39. Cf. Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikh Power, etc.*, p. 146.
40 Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 437.
41. Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, I, 236, 239.
42. Cf. Nadvi, *Sirat Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, 3rd ed., I, 285.
43. Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 437; Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, I, 244.
44. *Ibid.*, pp. 277-281.
45. *Ibid.*, pp. 296-300, 307.
46. *Ibid.*, pp. 319, 320, 322.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 324, 325.
48. *Tarikh-i-Ahmadiah*; I, 316, *A History of the Freedom Movement*, I, 584, 585; Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, I, 328.
49. Charsadda, called *Peucelaotis* by Greek historians, had superseded Peshawar as the capital of Gandhara at the time of the invasion of Alexander, the Great. See Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans*, p. 48.
50. *Tarikh-i-Ahmadiah*, I, 316; Captain C.M. Wade, Political Assistant at Ludhiana informs Sir C.F. Metcalfe, Resident at Delhi : "It is stated by many that his (Sayyid Ahmad's) present adherents amounts to nearly 100,000 men. I am not aware of the exact number and I am inclined to think that statement considerably exaggerated; there can be no doubt that a very numerous party is assembled under his Banner and that the minds of men have been strongly moved by the spirit of his martyrdom he is endeavouring to diffuse" (Dated 3rd March, 1827). See *Foreign Department Political Proceedings*, No. 32, Dated 30th March, 1827.
51. The Afghans may be broadly divided into two, *viz.* (i) the Western Afghans, of whom much the most important are the Abdalis (now known as the Durranis) and the Ghaljis (Ghilzais), and (ii) the Eastern Afghans, namely, the Yusufzais and other kindred tribes of the Peshawar plain and the valleys to the north of it. Cf. Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans*, pp. xiv, xv.; For genealogies of Western and Eastern Afghans see *Ibid.*, pp. 12, 13., A Yusufzai, in his own estimation, is better than the Pashtu-speaking Durrani; he is the aristocrat, and he is the Afghan proper. *Ibid.*, p. 14.; The Yusufzais proper, except a few dwelling in the Chachh east of the Indus, were entirely independent of the Durrani government, were under no obligation to furnish troops, and acknowledged no allegiance but to their own chiefs. Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan*, etc., pp. 193, 215. They were the mainspring of opposition to the Sikhs, Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans*, pp. 295-299.
52. An offshot of the Abdali or Durrani tribe. Traditions affirm that Zirak, the progenitor of the Barakzais, was a contemporary of Timur., *Ibid.*, pp. 12, 223.

53. Latif, *History of the Panjab*; p. 438.
54. For details see Dorn, *History of the Afghans*, Part ii, p. 122; Bellow, *The Races of Afghanistan*, p. 91; Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans*, pp. 15-19, 24, 252, 253.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 302; Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 438.
56. Ranjit Singh in a conversation with Captain C.M. Wade, who was on a mission to Lahore, said : "I send Sirdar Budh Singh with a force to punish them (the Afghans); after he had arrived there, a short time he heard of the approach of man of the name of Sied Ahmed, a religious enthusiast who had been travelling through Afghanistan and exciting the Afghans to wage a holy war against the Sikhs and all infidels. They supposed he was inspired—put faith in his words, and flocked to him in great numbers from all directions until he succeeded in collecting nearly a *lakh* (Italics mine) of men. Budh Singh wrote to say that they had invested his position and had become very daring", "Captain Wade's Report of his Mission to the Court of Ranjit Singh", *Foreign Political Department Proceedings*, No. 3, Dated 12th October, 1827.
57. Nadvi, *Sirat Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, p. 145; Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, I, 350.
58. Not a cousin of Ranjit Singh as mentioned by Dr. Mahmud Husain, "Sayyid Ahmad Shahid II", ; *A History of the Freedom Movement*, 1, 585.; See Sikh Genealogical Table, Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 335.
59. "*Lahore Akhbar*", dated February 1, 1827 wrongly says that Khawas Khan Khatak joined Sayyid Ahmad. *Foreign Department Political Consultation*, No. 28, dated 30th March, 1827. As a matter of fact Khawas Khan joined Budh Singh. See Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, I, 346, 347.
60. *Ibid.*, 356-358; *A History of Freedom Movement*, I, 586.
61. Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, II, 78-80.
62. *A History of Freedom Movement*, I, 586. *Mehr, Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, I, 356, 362, 366-372; Qeyamuddin Ahmad, *The Wahabi Movement in India*, Calcutta, 1966, p. 48. He (Sayyid Ahmad) realised with considerable shock and disappointment that the tribesmen, even though they had joined him were not moved by the same purity and sincerity of outlook. The aims of a great many of them were petty and base. They wanted only some plunder and loot.
63. Mehr, *op. cit.*, I, 374.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 374; *A History of Freedom Movement*, I, 587.
65. *Zafarnamah-i-Ranjit Singh*, p. 175; Charles Masson, *Narrative of Various Journeys, etc.*, III, 76; Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 439.
66. Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, I, 384, 385.

67. *Foreign Department Political Consultation*, No. 28, Dated 30th March, 1827. For details of correspondence between Sayyid Ahmad and Budh Singh see Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, I, 385-387.
68. *A History of Freedom Movement*, I, 588.
69. Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, I, 391, 392, 396, 397; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, II, 341; *Peshawar Gazetteer*, p. 66.
70. Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, I, 387-401; *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, II, 341; *Peshawar Gazetteer*, p. 66.
71. *Foreign Political Department Proceedings*, No. 3, Dated 12th October, 1827.
72. *Zafarnamah Ranjit Singh*, p. 181. We do not know on what authority Olaf Caroe observes : "The Sikh commander had prudently entrenched a position near Shaidu, between Akora and Jahangirah, and succeeded in beating off the tumultuous assault of the tribesmen, but with heavy losses including Budh Singh himself, who was slain at the crisis of the battle. Ahmad claimed a victory, and was able to extract an agreement from Yar Muhammad in Peshawar to respect the territories of the Yusufzai and exempt them from revenue-raising forays". *The Pathans*, p. 303.
73. Yar Muhammad Khan was nicknamed as "*Yaru Singh*". Cf. *A history of Freedom Movement*, I, 589; Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, I, 400.
74. In between the Eastern and Western Afghans, and to some extent keeping them apart, are interposed the highlanders. The Afridis were one group of them. They are not in the true Afghan line and are pre-eminently the Pakhtuns, or Pashtuns. They are one of the tribes who never fell under the effective sway of any recorded imperial authority. Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans*, pp. xv, 14.
75. They are the people of Roh. They looked down upon Durranis as inferiors. See *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 14, 187, 420; Dorn, *History of the Afghans*, Part I, vi, viii, ix; Part II, Annotations, p. 64; Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul*, I, 200, 205-7.
76. One of the Eastern Afghans. Caroe, *The Pathans*, p. 12. Also see *supra*.
77. Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, I, 430, 431; II, 5.
78. *Ibid.*, II, 40, 41.
79. *Ibid.*, 7-20; *A History of Freedom Movement*, I, 590.
80. Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, II, 43-53.
81. *Ibid.*, pp. 64, 78-83, 88-93.
82. *Ibid.*, pp. 93, 103, 104, 108, 109.
83. *Ibid.*, 81, 82, 94-102.
84. *Ibid.*, 108-137; Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 441.
85. *Foreign Political Department Proceedings*, No. 33, Dated 15th April,

1831; Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 441; Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, II, 141-144.

86. Olaf Caroe, *The Patnans*, p. 303.
87. Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, II, 147-154, 156-158.
88. *Foreign Political Department Proceedings*, No. 33, dated 15th April, 1831.
89. Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, II, 161-174.
90. *Ibid.*, pp. 175-185.
91. For details see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, *s.v.*
92. Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, II, 154, 227-236; Sultan Muhammad Khan took the fortress of Hund out of the *Mujahidin* and gave it to Amir Khan, brother of Khadi Khan (*Ibid.*, II, 154-156); The *Mujahidin* were able to reoccupy it later on (*Ibid.*, II, 215, 216); Ahmad Khan of Mardan refused to pay '*Ushr* and ran to Peshawar for help against the Sayyid. In the meanwhile, Mardan was attacked and captured by the *Mujahids*. Rasul Khan, brother of Ahmad Khan was installed as the Khan of Mardan (*Ibid.*, II, 218-225).
93. *Ibid.*, pp. 237-248; *Latif, History of the Panjab*, pp. 441, 442; Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans*, p. 303; Toru is a village in Samah about four miles south of Mardan. See *Peshawar Gazetteer*, s.v.
94. Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 442; Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans*, p. 303; *A History of the Freedom Movement*, I, 595, 596; Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, II, 261-266.
95. *Ibid.*, pp. 267-277.
96. Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans*, p. 304; Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 442.
97. *Ibid.*, p. 305.
98. Cf. Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, II, *passim*.
99. For Sayyid Ahmad's attitude and his arguments see *Ibid.*, pp. 267-277. Also compare Ubaidullah Sindhi, *Shah Waliullah awr unki Siyasi Tahrik*, p. 169.
100. *Foreign Political Department Proceedings*, No. 33, Dated 15th April, 1831; Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans*, p. 305; Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 442.
101. *Foreign Political Department Proceedings*, No. 33, dated 15th April, 1831.
102. Cf. *Ibid.*, Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, II, 290-346.
103. *Foreign Political Department Proceedings*, No. 33, Dated 15th April, 1831.
104. *Ibid.*, Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 443; Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, II, 343-367.
105. Balakot is a small town in the sub-division of Mansehra, in the district of Hazara. It is situated on the Kaghan river and is protected on three sides by high mountains. Cf. *Hazara Gazetteer*, *s.v.*

That the Sayyid considered it inaccessible is evident from the letter dated April 25, 1831, written to Nawab Waziruddaulah of Tonk. See Nadvi, *Sirat Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, pp. 225, 226; Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, II, 368-370. 377, 378.

106. *Waqa-i-Ahmadi*, III, 751; Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, II, 381, 382. Sayyid Ahmad is reported to have said : "The field of Balakot has both—Lahore and Paradise. Either we shall see Lahore in case of victory or shall go to Paradise in case of *shahadat*", *i.e.*, death while fighting in the way of God. See *Ibid.*

107. Hugh Pearse, *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner*, pp. 171, 172. There is no use discussing the theory of *ghaibubat* or the concealment or disappearance of Sayyid Ahmad alive from the field of Balakot only to reappear later on. The passage of time as full one hundred and thirty years have passed since then, is the strongest argument against such a belief. Moreover, Ghulam Rasul Mehr considers the *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner* pure fiction. See *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, II, 289n, 414n. We do not see any substantial reason to disbelieve Colonel Alexander Gardner here. On the contrary, Gardner's statement illuminates many dark corners relating to the Battle of Balakot which are evident in the narrative of Ghulam Rasul. In the first place, Gardner clarifies that Sayyid Ahmad was cut off from the main body of his force and finds its support from Mehr when he comes to the conclusion that Sayyid Ahmad advanced all of a sudden to attack the Sikhs in contravention of the agreed and decided plan of action. See *Ibid.*, pp. 394-404. In the second place, Gardner mocks at the belief of *ghaibubat* though it is now accepted on all hands, including Mehr (*Ibid.*, pp. 405-416), that Sayyid Ahmad died fighting at Balakot; One of the disciples of Sayyid Ahmad Wilayat Ali "began to preach that Sayyid Ahmad was not killed but had disappeared, and would appear again at the proper time to lead the army of the faithful to victory against his opponents. He further urged that the disappearance of the Imam was immaterial to the existence of their faith, which is unchangeable and must be adhered to. The old disciples renewed their discipleship at his hand and acknowledged him as Syed Ahmad's successor. He directed Shah Mohammad Hussain to make constant tours in the districts of Bihar, and made all possible efforts to reorganise the movement on a firm basis....."
"After the break up of the Wahabi camp in Sind a wily follower of the sect proclaimed that the Imam had reappeared and was living in a cave near Kawai. This aroused curiosity of Zainul Abdin who determined to have an interview with the leader, and secretly entered the cave where the leader was said to reside. To his utter disgust he found only three figures stuffed with straw to resemble Syed Ahmad and his two servants. Zainul Abidin

returned to Calcutta relating all the way his experience of the fraud. This gave a serious setback to the movement. Fasihuddin Balkhi, *Wahabi Movement*, Delhi, n.d., pp. 9-10; *The Calcutta Review*, 1870, p. 192.

108. *Foreign Political Department Proceedings*, No. 39, Dated 17th June, 1831. Also see Mahmud Husain, "The Mystery of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid's Death", *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Vol. III, Part iii, July, 1955, pp. 167-173.

109. *Foreign Political Department Proceedings*, No. 40, Dated 17th June, 1831.

110. There is a very popular tradition, "God will, on the eve of every century, raise a person in this nation (*i.e.* Islam) who would renew the religion." Vide *Abu Daud*; *Al-Tibrani Al-Hakim*; *Sahaha*. Another tradition : "In every coming age there will be some pious and competent persons who will stand surety and support this religion, They will refute the changes introduced by the extremists and ignorant persons, and the heretical claims and shall safeguard the religion from them." Vide *Al-Baihaqqi*.

111. The following were the *Mujjaddids* of Islam for their respective centuries: Umar bin Abdul Aziz (61—101AH), *Aimma Arab'ah* (the four Imams), namely, Imam Abu Hanifah (80-150 AH), Imam Malik (95—179 AH), Imam Shafi 'a (150—204 AH), Imam Ahmad bin Hunbal (164—241AH), Ibn Suraji (d. 306AH), Imam Baqillani Muhammad bin Tayyab (d. 403AH) or Imam Asfrayyini Ahmad bin Muhammad (d. 406AH), Imam Ghazzali (450—505AH), Imam Fakhruddin Razi (d. 606AH), Imam Ibn Tamia (661—728 A.H.) and Ibn Daqiq Atid Muhammad bin Ali (d. 702 AH), Imam Bulqini Sirajuddin (d. 905 AH), Jalaluddin al-Suyuti (d. 911 AH) and so on the others. Compare Abul Ala Maududi's *Tajdid wa Ahiya-i-Din*. It will be noted that before Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi no Mujaddid was born in India. He is the first Mujaddid of Islam in this country.

112. Compare *Ibid*., pp. 28-34. Dr. Beni Prasad has wrongly accused Shaikh Ahmed Sarhindi that he claimed to be the promised Mahdi. Shaikh Sarhindi was a Mujaddid and not the Mahdi who is to appear in the later years. See *History of Jahangir*, p. 377 *note*. The Mujaddid Sarhindi himself expressly declared about the arrival of the promised Mehdi at some future date. See *Zabat-ul-Maqabat*, text, pp. 190, 238; *Hazrat-ul-Quds*, Urdu trans., II, 5, 76, 77, 114; *Maktubat*, I, No. 32. Dr. Beni Prasad further writes, "My inquiries after Shaikh Ahmad's book (i.e. *Maktubat*) have proved futile." It is feared that a history of Jahangir without any reference whatsoever about the Mujaddid's influence on Mughal politics, will not be complete. The historian of Jahangir has

taken notice of Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi on a *footnote* just cited above.

113. Muhammad Ikram, *Mauj-i-Kausar*, Lahore, 1968 reprint, p. 38; Murray T. Titus, *Islam in India and Pakistan*, Calcutta, 1959, p. 192; "Sayyid Ahmad and his followers believed that he was at least the 'renewer', the *Mujaddid* of the faith for his century; at most, the promised Mahdi who would come at the end of time to destroy evil and initiate a new society. In the life of Sayyid Ahmad they saw parallels to the life of the Prophet, of whose family he was. Both were uneducated; both were subject to trances and dreams; both awoke people from forgetfulness of God's law. Sayyid Ahmad's two faithful lieutenants were likened to the Prophet's own companions : 'Abdu'l-Hayy to the quiet and dignified Abu Bakr, and Muhammad Isma'il to the brave 'Umar." B.D. Metcalf, *op, cit.*, pp. 60-61 To Butress her assertion she says : "Compare the study of Marilyn Waldman in "West Arican Jihads" a paper presented to the American Historical Association in New York, December 28, 1968. She showed the same pattern in contemporaneous reform movements there, where identification with the Prophet and his followers provided not only legitimacy but a guide to action." *Ibid.*; Another historian also says : "It is not extravagant to see significant parallels between the career of Saiyid Ahmad of Bareilly and that of Muhammad the Prophet himself—indeed later Muslim historians and biographers may have sensed, or unconsciously suggested, certain structural similarities between them. Both were men of action rather than men of pen; both migrated with faithful followers from an unpromising to a more promising locale; both had to work with unruly tribesmen and both struggled to establish an Islamic state on the fringe of powerful empires by defying the local powers by force.

But there any parallels end : Saiyid Ahmad's world was suffused by Sufism and so were his teachings. Indeed he described his path as the *tariqa-i-muhammadi*, the Muhammadan mystical path. Although he proclaimed the love of a prophet for God to be superior to that of a mystic, because a prophet is concerned to create the good society on earth whereas the mystic is concerned only with his own soul's welfare (Shah Isma'il, *Sirat-i-Mustaqim*, Persian text, Calcutta 1823, pp. 58-62, 67-8), the path of sainthood and the path of prophethood are complementary. Saiyid Ahmad is himself represented as having first acquired the special graces vouchsafed through the Chishti, Naqshbandi and Qadiri mystic orders, before acquiring those vouchsafed through the *tariqa-i-muhammadi*. Before he went on *hajj* in 1821, he preached a reformed sufism, purged of *shirk* or polytheism, of intercession of

saints to perform acts that only God can perform, and of worship of all other than God——.

It was the *Sufi* idiom of Saiyid Ahmad's early reforming activities that distinguished them from those of the Wahhabis in near-contemporary Arabia, who attacked the *Sufi* orders. Saiyid Ahmad of Bareilly, followed the tradition of Shah Waliullah, wished to expurgate, not to expunge sufism in India. Arabian Wahhabism no doubt helped turn Saiyid Ahmad's thoughts towards an active military *jihad*, though precedents were not wanting in India itself for reforming brotherhoods to become military brotherhoods—as in the militant Raushaniyya movement on the North-West Frontier in the sixteenth century, and indeed in Sikhism, *vide* P. Hary, *The Muslims of British India*, Cambridge 1972, pp. 52-53.

114. See W.W. Hunter, *The Indian Musalmans*, 47ff ; James O'Kincaly, "The Wahhabis in India", *Calcutta Review*, 1870-1871. For the refutation of their arguments see Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Review of Dr. Hunter's Indian Mussalmans : Are They Bound in Conscience to Rebel against the Queen?*, London, 1872; Nadvi, *Sirat Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, pp. 243-247; *A History of the Freedom Movement*, I, 567, 568 ; "It has been customary to regard Sayyid Ahmad Shahid and his followers as "Wahabis". Among the Muslims one of the first to use this term was Maulvi Fazl-i-Rasul of Badaun. When the followers of Sayyid came into conflict with the British government in India, the British also popularised this term obviously to create distrust among the Muslim populace. But this epithet has little justification. There was not much that was common to Muhammad bin 'Abdul Wahhab and Sayyid Ahmad Shahid and the theory that the latter derived his doctrines from the former is not tenable. Historically Sayyid Ahmad Shahid had already formulated his ideas of reform before he performed the *hajj* during which he is supposed to have come under the influence of the Wahhabis. It is also significant that the Wahhabis had been dislodged from the Hijaz before the Sayyid's arrival in Mecca. Moreover, there were many important differences between the two schools of thought. The Sayyid's moderate views on *taqlid* and his attitude towards *Sufism* may be cited as two of the principal differences; Muhammad bin 'Abdul Wahhab rejected both absolutely, whereas the Sayyid did not.

If the origin of the Sayyid's doctrines cannot be traced to Mohammad bin 'Abdul Wahhab, then where is the origin to be found ? The answer seems to be that Sayyid Ahmad Shahid's teachings had an indigenous origin. He was influenced in his ideas by the *Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Sani* and more particularly by Shah Waliullah and Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz. In fact he was, as we have seen,

a regular member of Shah Waliullah' school. He himself was a pupil of Shah 'Abdul Qadir and a disciple of Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz, both sons of Shah Waliullah, and his two principal lieutenants were Shah Isma'il Shahid and Maulvi 'Abdul Hai, nephew and son-in-law respectively of Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz. What is even more important is that there was hardly anything in his religious or political doctrines which could not be traced to Shah Waliullah and Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz. The only difference was that whereas Shah Waliullah and Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz were great men of learning and piety who chose to serve Indian Islam by pen and word of mouth, Sayyid Ahmad Shahid was primarily a man of action., John Obvert Voll, *Continuity and Change in the Modern World*, America, 1982, p. 111; Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment*, Oxford, 1964, pp. 209-210; W.C. Smith, *On Understanding Islam*, The Hague, 1981, pp. 208-09. "The first great development was the Mujāhidin movement from the 1820s. Its enemies call it '*Wahabi*', and the term has stuck. I think one should take careful note of this name, particularly as stressing the impression that it made as fundamentally a movement of religious revival and purification. Yet we should drop it in favour of the internal name, which also stresses the Islamic character and includes, not unjustly, an emphasis on martial zeal. It was a mass movement, both funds and personnel being supplied from popular sources, not by rulers. It was inspired, organised and led by religious dignitaries, 'ālims. The chief of these was Sayyid Ahmad Barelwi (1786-1831)——".

115. "And, I created iron which is very dangerous in the form of weapons". *Quran*, 57 : 25. For a commentary upon the verse see Abul Kalam Azad, *Khutabat*, pp. 25, 26.
116. *Maktubat-i-Imam Rabbani*, Letter to Khan-i-Azam, Vol. I, No. 65. Also see his letter to Shaikh Farid Bukhari on the question of *Jihad*, *Ibid*., Vol. I, No. 163; "Eighteenth-century themes provided the basic foundations for this movement of Islamic revival in India. Ahmad Barelwi attempted to meet the challenges of the early nineteenth century with tools that had been created in the previous century, and his defeat helped to show that these tools were not sufficient in the changing circumstances", John Obvert Voll, *op. cit*., p. 111.
117. Cf. Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, I, 61, 62, 176; II, 466.
118. *Tawarikh-i-'Ajibah*, pp. 14, 15, 57, 70, 71.
119. See his *Tiqsar Juyud-ul-Ahrar min Tazkar-i-Junud-ul-Abrar* (Persian), Bhopal, 1878.
120. See "*Review of Dr. Hunter's Indian Mussalmans : Are They Bound in Conscience to Rebel against the Queen* ?", London, 1872.

121. *Hayat-i-Tayyibah*, p. 292.
122. See *Supra*.
123. Cf. Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, I, 250, 253, 255-261.
124. *Ibid.*, pp. 277-281.
125. *Foreign Department Political Proceedings*, No. 32, Dated 30th March, 1827.
126. Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, I, 209.
127. *Ibid.*, p. 219; At another place Ghulam Rasul Mehr puts the following in the mouth of Sayyid Ahmad : ". . . a Sayyid has come from Hindustan with the intention of rescuing the country from the clutches of the Sikhs." *Ibid.*, p. 345.
128. Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs*, p. 187.
129. *A History of the Freedom Movement*, I, 578.
130. W.W. Hunter's observation, "The preaching of Sayyid Ahmad in 1820-22 passed unheeded by the British Authorities" (*The Indian Musalmans*, p. 36), does not hold water in the light of the facts stated above.
131. Cf. *Foreign Department Political Proceedings*, No. 41, Dated 17th June, 1831. In this connection a passage from Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan is worth quoting : "At this time thousands of armed men and large stores of munitions of war were collected in India for the *jihad* against the Sikhs. Commissioners and Magistrates were aware of this and they reported the facts to Government. They were directed not to interfere, as the Government was of opinion that their object was not inimical to the British. In 1826, these Jihadis against the Sikhs reached the frontier, and they were afterwards continually strengthened by recruits and money from India. This was well-known to Government, and in proof of this, I will cite the following case :- A Hindu banker of Delhi, entrusted with money for the Wahabi cause on the frontier (that is to say *Hundi* or bills of exchange), embezzled the same, and a suit was brought against him before Mr. William Fraser, late Commissioner of Delhi. The suit was decided in favour of the plaintiff, Moulavi Ishak (Shah Muhammad Ishaq), and the money paid in by the defendant was forwarded to the frontier by other means. The case was afterwards appealed to the Sudder Court at Allahabad, but the decision of the Lower Court was upheld." *Review of Dr. Hunter's Indian Mussalmans*, p. 15.
132. Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, I, 158-161, 195-205, 209-216, 223, 238, 239. The Nawab of Tonk who was a good ally of the British throughout supported the Sayyid and his family. *Ibid.*, *passim* ; Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs*, pp. 186; 190.
133. Dr. Mahmud Husain says : "It was only after the Panjab was conquered by the British that the followers of the Sayyid and the British came into conflict." *A History of the Freedom Movement*,

I, 579. It is incorrect. The Punjab was conquered and annexed in 1849. See *supra*. The Secretary to Government St. George writes (dated 18th June, 1839) to the Secretary, Government of India, Fort William, about the anti-British activities of the Wahhabis in South India. Cf. *Foreign Department Secret Consultation*, No. 20, Dated 10th July, 1839.

134. For details see Mehr, *Sarguzasht-i-Mujahidin*, Lahore, 1956 ; *Jama 'at-i-Mujahidin*, 'Ilmi Printing Press, Lahore ; Muhammad Ja'far Thanesari, *Tawarikh-i-'Ajib* also known as *Kala Pani*, Lahore, n.d.; *The Great Wahabi Trial of Ambala*, 1864, vide W.W. Hunter, *The Indian Musalmans*, pp. 76 ff. ; *Wahabi Trial at Patna*, Official Report, 1871.

135. Muin-ud-din Ahmad Khan, *A History of the Fara'idi Movement in Bengal*, Karachi, 1965, pp. xxxii-xxxiii.; M.A. Bari, 'A Comparative Study of early Wahhabi doctrines and Conternporary Reform Movements in Indian Islam, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Oxford, 1953, pp. 125-26.; Abdul Bari, "The Reform Movement in Bengal", in *A History of the Freedom Movement; Being the Story of Muslim Struggle for the freedom of Hind-O-Pakistan* (1707-1947), Karachi, 1957; A. Bausani, "Farā'idi-yya", in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., Leiden, 1954 ; Jayanti Mitra, *Muslim' Politics in Bengal*, Calcutta, 1984, p. 17.

136. J.N. Sarkar, Islam in Bengal, *Journal of Indian History*, Vol, xvii, Dec. 1970, pp. 498-99. "To protect the faraizi peasantry from Hindu Zamindars and European indigo-planters, he raised a volunteer body *lethials* for offray parties to secure social justice for the Muslims, he revived the traditional *panchayat* System. These two branches (*siyasi* and *din*) were co-ordinated by an hierarchical Khilafat system under the direct control of Ustad P. Hardy, *The Muslims of British India*, Cambridge, 1972, pp. 56-57, "Before he died Dudu Miyan had turned a missionary brotherhood into a military brotherhood."

137. F.H. Skrine, *Life of Sir William Wilson Hunter*, K.C.S.I., M.A., New York and Bombay, 1901, p. 99, "We are face to face with a revival of the spirit of Islam throughout India, the outcome of a sedulous popagation of Wahabi doctrines."; K.A. Wadud, *Hindu Musalamaner Birodh*, Visva Bharati, 1342, B.S./1936 (in Bengali).

138. Rafiuddin Ahmed, *The Bengal Muslims*, 1871-1906, Delhi, 1981, p. 104. "Popular Islam did not abandon the unorthodhox beliefs and practices but a new awareness of the Islamic identity and a sense of communal cohesion became its dominant notes."

139. M.S. Jain, *The Aligarh Movement*, Agra, 1965, pp. 182-85; W.C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India A : Social Analysis*, 1946, Second revised edition, 1970, pp. 163-164; Rafiuddin Ahmed, *op. cit.* pp.

131-32. "The Bengali Urdu controversy did not achieve anything tangible, but merely brought to light the inherent clash of cultures between the Urdu Speaking and the Bengali Muslims. Notwithstanding the latters' growing desire for an Islamic identity, their roots in the culture proved too powerful to be swamped by the deliberate effort at alienation. The controversy had, however, indirect effect of focusing popular attention on Hindu-Muslim cultural difference and thus contributed Muslim exclusiveness. Although it ultimately resulted in an increased appreciation of Bengali by the educated Muslims, this helped little to bridge the widening cultural gulf between the two communities."

140. J.H. Broomfield, *Elite Conflict in a Plural Society Twentieth Century Bengal*, Bombay, 1968, p. 328. "If History united the Bengali Muslim Community, so too did its enmity towards Hindu bhadralok. In search of an object of denuniciation communal politician did not like the nationalist, have to resort to the remote and relatively unfamiliar figures of the British Raj. He had an excellent target for attack in that Hindu dominant Hindu minority that supplied the landlords and their agents, the moneylenders, the lawyers, the tax collectors and other government officials with whom every Bengali Muslim, rural, or urban, was forced to have dealings. To change this group with tyranny and to call for united backing to break its power was a sure way to arouse popular enthusiasm. And if anger ran to violence, it was the privileged Hindu minority that was likely to be hurt more seriously."

141. Rafiuddin Ahmed, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-108; Mushirul Hassan, ed., *Communal and Pan-Islamic Trends in Colonial India*, Delhi, 1981, pp. 2, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 41, 44, 46, 47, 49, 55-59, 277, 316-17.

142. Mohammad Yasin, *A Social History of Islamic India*, 2nd ed., 1974, New Delhi, p. 154.; I.H. Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent* : (1610-1947), S. Gravenhage, 1962, p. 233.; S.A.A. Rizvi, The Breakdown of the Traditional Society, in *The Cambridge History of Islam*, II, Cambridge, 1970, p. 72.

143. Barbara Daly Metcalf, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53.

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(*Note* : Explanatory note has been added only to the books and documents which are important but hitherto less known to scholars. Other works in general have been referred to in the footnotes).

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(a) Letters and Despatches relating to Sayyid Ahmad :

(i) *Foreign Department Political Consultation*, No. 28, dated 30th March, 1827; Memo of Notes taken from the *Lahore Akhbar*, dealing with the expedition of Sardar Budh Singh against Sayyid Ahmad. This Memo was sent to the Government of India at Calcutta by the Residency at Delhi on March 8, 1827.

(ii) *Foreign Department Political Proceedings*, No. 32, dated 30th March, 1827; from Captain C.M. Wade, Political Assistant at Ludhiana to Sir C.F. Metcalfe, Resident at Delhi, dated March 3, 1827; gives a summary about Sayyid Ahmad and his activities.

(iii) *Foreign Political Department Proceedings*, No. 3, dated 12th October, 1827; Captain C.M. Wade's report on his Mission to the Court of Ranjit Singh; deals with the Battle of Akora, near Attock.

(iv) *Foreign Political Department Proceedings*, No. 33, dated 15th April, 1831; from Captain C.M. Wade to B. Martin, Resident at Delhi, dated March 21, 1831. It deals with the Pathan rising against Sayyid Ahmad and his migration to Hazara.

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(vi) *Foreign Department Political Proceedings*, No. 40, dated 17th June, 1831; from Foreign Secretary to Government of India to Captain C.M. Wade, Political Assistant at Ludhiana, dated May 23, 1831.

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(viii) *Foreign Department Political Consultations*, Nos. 27 to 33 in general, dated March 30, 1827.

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(b) Letters and Despatches relating to Wahhabi Movement in India (Early Period) :

(i) *Foreign Department Secret Consultations*, Nos. 29 to 31, dated 14th August, 1839.

(ii) *Foreign Department Secret Consultations*, Nos. 59 to 62, dated 20th November, 1839.

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(iv) *Foreign Department Secret Consultations*, Nos. 112 to 115, dated 10th July, 1839.

These documents throw a flood of fresh light on Sayyid Ahmad and his activities *vis-a-vis* Government of India and their attitude and help to arrive at sober conclusions. Needless to say that these documents have not attracted the attention of the scholars in the field so far. The documents are preserved in the National Archives of India, New Delhi.

CHAPTER VI

INTER-SECT CONFLICT AMONG MUSLIMS

THE MUSLIM community of India has developed into an Indianized heterogeneous flock around a small nucleus of foreign conquerors and immigrants of diverse races, the Arab and the Afghan, the Turk and Turkoman, Mongols and the mongoloid Tartar. It, however, presents a sharp contrast to the vast Hindu majority on account of the community of religion, and a certain amount of manners and customs enjoined by Islam. Though outwardly a solid homogeneous block held together by the cement of Islam, it is in reality a composite community having within its fold representatives of races from all over the Muslim world and Hindu converts from all grades of society. But even from religious point of view, Islam has also succumbed in this luxuriant land of schism and sects. Islam which has already broken up into the traditional seventy-three sects,[1]. got further disintegrated in Hindustan since its introduction into this country. Some of the sects in Indian Islam are peculiar to itself not to be found anywhere else.[2]

The Schism

The schism in Islam centres round the question of succession, that who should succeed the Prophet in his role and the temporal head of the community. This is the rock on which Islam broke up in twian——Shia and Sunni——and afterwards multiplied in number. The fact is well illustrated in the origin of *Khawarij*, literally meaning 'seceders', being the oldest sect of all.[3] The points of faith in dispute among the Muslims are reducible to four general heads, called the four bases or great fundamental articles. The first relates to the attributes

of God, and His unity consistent therewith; the second regards predestination and the justice thereof: the third concerns the promises and threats; the fourth treats history and reason, and also the missions of prophets, and the office of *Imam*. Over these knotty disputations Muslims are divided into different sects, which may be classed under two principal heads; the *orthodox* and the *heretical*; the former by a general name, are called *Sunnis*; the latter *Shias*.[4]

The Sunnis

The Prophet of God has prophesied that "My Nation (*Ummat*) will be divided into seventy-three sects, and every one of these sects will go to hell except one". When asked 'which is that sect on which the sun of deliverance shall shine', he replied, '*Ahl-i-Sunnat wa Jama 'at*'. Again questioned 'who are those', answered, 'those who tread on the path adopted by me and after me my companions proceed on that'.[5] The Shias now challenge the very authority of this Tradition and they quote another Tradition; 'The difference among my people (*ummat*)) will be a blessing'. Thus they try to snatch away from *Sunnis* the claim of being the followers of official Islam.

The Sunnis can, and do, claim to be the orthodox sect indicated by Muhammad in the tradition (*hadis*) quoted above, for a Sunni is one who follows the *sunna* or practice and acts of the Prophet. To be brief, he acknowledges the first four Khalifas as the rightful successors of the Prophet; he accepts the "Six Books" of Traditions[6] and attaches himself to one of the four orthodox schools of jurisprudence, viz., *Hanafi*, *Shafa'i* *Malaki* and *Hunabali*. He considers the '*ijma*' of those four great Imams to be binding on him.[7]

The phrase "Orthodox Muslims", means Sunnis and they far exceed in number the other sects. At present they predominate in all Muslim countries, except Persia. In India. the Sunnis of Hanafi school are in a predominant position. The Muslim reformers were almost exclusively Sunnis and reform means making people live a life of purity and virtue as interpreted by the Prophet through his teaching and practised by the Prophet himself.

The Shias

The Shias come next in number and importance. Like Catholics and Protestants in Christianity, Sunnis and Shias form the two major sects of Islam. According to recent census report, the Shias form 20% of India's Muslim population. The *Dabistan-ul-Mazahib* states: 'The Shia sect is particularly attached to the *Khilafat* and *Imamat* of Hazrat 'Ali and his descendants and hold that *Khilafat* does not pass beyond him and his off-springs. They say that *Imamat* is not a question of expediency which hangs round the supreme authority of the people and the Imam should be elected by them; but the true decision is that which derives its origin and support from the pillars of the faith'.[8] The Shias stoutly deny that the succession can be open to election, and in consequence they reject (and often denounce) the first three Khalifas as usurpers. Their particular views on this question of the succession led to the formation of strange religious doctrines which further widened the breach between themselves and the orthodox.[9] But the matter did not end there. Disputations among the Shias themselves about the office of Imam caused the party to split up into numerous sub-divisions, some say about seventy in number, each hostile to the others. It is stated in the *Tazkirah Mazahib-i-Haftad wa Sehgana* of Muhammed bin Abdur Rahman that the Shias are divided into seventy-two sects, each one calling another a *Kafir* (unbeliever). *Dabistan* also states: "Among the Shias regarding the priority of *Imamat* there is great deal of difference. For every Imam there is a discourse concerning his having been the first or the last and the greatest amount of disunity exists as to the exact number of the Imams".[10] The largest number of the Imams is twelve and the Shias who believe in twelve Imams are called *Isna-ashariyyas*, or "twelvers".[11]

The Ismailis

The Ismailis are another heretical group and a prominent sub-division of the Shias. They owe allegiance to Isma'il, son of Imam J'affer Sadiq, the sixth Imam.[12] They hold Isma'il as Imam because (according to them) Imam J'affar has entrusted *Imamat* to him. As a matter of fact, the two eldest of J'affar Sadiq's seven sons were Isma'il and Musa.

Isma'il, the elder of the two, having died during his father's life, the latter appointed Musa his successor, which gave rise to contest and dispute, and to several sects, as well as two great dynasties. The Fatimide Khalifs in Egypt are considered as descendants of the branch of Isma'il, called Ismailia, of Africa, but the Saffavide monarchs of Asis claim to derive their origin from Musa, and strenuously support his title to the seventh Imam.[13]

The Ismailis do not act according to the Shariat and hold that they do not say whether God is or is not; world exists or is non-existent; God is all-powerful or otherwise and express similar opinions about the other attributes of God.[14] As the Ismailis claim to have been emancipated by their gospel from the obligation to observe the moral and religious code of Islam, they are believed by their detractors to be capable of every kind of wickedness and dissolute antinomianism and are accused of permitting marriages within the prohibited degrees and practising incest in their secret assemblies.[15] The most noted leader of this sect was Hasan-i-Sabah (the Old Man of the Mountains), who founded the order of the Fidais or Assassins and concentrated his power at Alamut in Dailam (Northern Persia).[16]

The Khojas and Bohras are the other sub-divisions of the Ismaili sect. The Fatimide or Ismaili Khalif Mustansir who reigned from 1036-1094 A.D. had two sons, Must'ali and Nizar. Their rival claims divided the sect into two rival branches, a Western (Egyptain or North African) and an Eastern (Persian and Syrian). The Bohras belong to the former or *Must'aalian* section, the Khojas or followers of Hasan-i-Sabah to the latter or Nizarian.[17]

The Khojas in Kathiawad and Gujrat consist mostly of Hindu converts to Islam by a saint named Sayyid Imamuddin who flourished in the seventeenth century and whose tomb at Karmatah (9 miles outside Ahmedabad) was their chief shrine. They paid idolatrous adoration to their spiritual guide, kissing his toes and heaping up gold and silver on his feet. while he sat in royal splendour behind a screen.[18]

According to the traditional history of the Bohras, 'Abdullah, their first *Da'i*, Missionary or Apostle, is said to have landed at Cambay in A.H. 460 (1067 A.D.) and a second

propagandist named Muhammad Ali to have arrived in 532 A.H. (1137 A.D.).[19] They had been converted to Shiaism by a famous Muslim saint many centuries ago. But an independent Sultan of Gujrat made several of them Sunnis and thus introduced an element of discord. Since then, the Bohras have been split up into two sects, fighting bitterly over their religious differences.[20] The laws of marriage, divorce and inheritance etc., of the Bohras are opposed, in several points, to those of the Sunnis. They have also cut down the five daily prayers, which are obligatory on all Sunnis, practically to three. They pray also like all Shias with their arms straight by their side, while the Sunnis do so with the arms folded.[21]

There are two main branches of the Bohras. This division came about through a schism that occurred in the year 1588 A.D., after the death of Da'ud bin 'Ajab Shah, who was the head of the sect resident in Yaman. The Bohras of Gujrat, promptly chose Da'ud bin Qutb Shah as their head, but the Ismailians of the Yaman would not recognize this choice, and set up one Sulaiman, whom they claimed Da'ud had nominated before his death. Sulaiman then came to Gujrat to make good his claims, which were rejected by all but a few. The two branches resulting from this schism bear the names of their respective founders, and are called the Daudi and Sulaimani Bohras. The head of the Daudi branch resides at Surat, and that of the Sulaimani in Yaman. The latter has a representative who lives in Baroda.[22]

There is a small number of Bohras known as the Ja'faris, who are descendants of the Daudis. They became Sunnis in the time of Muzaffar Shah (1296-1411 A.D.) and succeeding governors of Gujrat. These Ja'fari Bohras take their name from one Sayyid Ahmad Ja'far Shirazi, of the fifteenth century, whose descendants still officiate as spiritual guides. Besides these three groups of Bohras, there are two other minor communities, the product of secession. One is known as the 'Aliyas, which separated in 1624 A.D. from the Daudis to follow 'Ali bin Ibrahim as their high priest instead of Shaikh Abdul Tayyab, who had been chosen previously. Lastly there are the Nagoshis, who dissented from the Aliyas in the eighteenth century. They derive their name from the belief that flesh eating is a sin[23].

Similarly, the Khojas are also divided into two well-defined

groups, which, for the sake of convenience, are designated the Punjab Khojas and the Agha Khani Khojas. The latter is by far the larger group, for it includes not only all the others outside the Punjab Khojas, but the Agha Khan is recognized as the head of the other scattered groups outside India as well. The Agha Khan III was one of the foremost leaders in Muslim reform movements and efforts to improve the condition of the Muslim community. He wholeheartedly co-operated with the promoters of Aligarh Muslim University. He was a strong supporter of British rule in India, and presented his views in a book called *India in Transition*, which appeared in 1918. He was the first president of the All-India Muslim League, which was founded in 1906.[24]

Other secessions from the Agha Khani community have taken place, the most important of which occurred in the last century. At that time a considerable section endeavoured to have the whole group turn Sunni, while in 1901 a small number of modernists seceded and joined the *Isna Asharivas*.[25] The Punjab Khojas do not recognize the Agha Khan as their head, curiously enough, they turn to the *pirs* of the Sunnite Chishti and Qadiri Orders for practical religious leadership. In most other respects their religious beliefs and practices are identical with the other Khojas.[26]

Badruddin Tayyabji, who was judge of the High Court of Bombay, was a Sulaimani Bohra, while Muhammed Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, was a Khoja.[27]

The Zaidis

The Zaidis are followers of Zaid son of Ali Asghar Zainul 'Abidin, the 4th Imam. They believe that the *Imamat* went from 'Ali to Hasan and then to Husain and from him to 'Ali II and from him to Zaid and not (as generally held) to Muhammad Bakr. In their jurisprudence Zaidis are nearest to the Sunnis. They have elective *Imamat* but the candidate must belong to the family of the Prophet. They, however, admit that it is possible to elect a person having the highest qualities including, of course, proficiency in arms and bravery. They maintain that 'Ali fulfilled every qualification and ought to have been elected. They, however, accept the *Imamat* of the first two Khalifs. They are known as *Ruwafiz* (dissenters)[28] by the

rest of the Shias for this reason. Zaid himself differed from Muhammad Bakr on the qualification regarding the use of arms. Zaid revolted against the Umayyads and was killed in a battle near Kufa. His son Yahya also lost his life in the same way. The Zaidi Imams are the rulers of northern Yaman. There are four sects among the Zaidis also.[29]

Modern Movements

The widespread saint worship, and the masses whose imperfect conversion to Islam left them in possession of customs and beliefs that were far more Hindu than Muslim, led certain sincere souls to inaugurate reforms to rid Islam of un-Islamic accretions. The puritanical sect, founded in Arabia during the eighteenth century by Muhammad Abdul Wahhab, was destined to have far-reaching influences throughout the Muslim world adopting itself to regional and local variations. It is pertinent to point out at the outset that this sect as such has never been formally organized in India under the name 'Wahhabi'. It is not only unfair but unhistorical to brand the movement of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid of Rae Bareli as "Indian Wahhabism".[30] Sayyid Ahmad Shahid's teachings have an indigenous origin. He is the third in the series of the *Mujaddids* (Regenerators) of Indian Islam following in the wake of *Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani* Saikh Ahmad Sarhindi and Shah Waliullah Dehlavi. He is a link between the Religio-Political Reform Movement of Orthodox Islam in India as initiated by *Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani* and the climax of Muslim communalism and reaction resulting in the creation of Pakistan.[31]

In general, the movement has been marked by renewed emphasis on *Tauhid* (the unity of God-head); adherence to the principle of *Ijtihad*, or the right to interpret the Quran and the *Hadis* (Traditions); opposition to the worship of saints, which they hold to be a form of polytheism (*shirk*); and earnest endeavour to remove all traces of the practices of early faiths from the worship of the Hindu converts to Islam. In this movement there was a 'right' and a 'left' wing. The former was led by Shariatullah and Karamat Ali, attempting nothing beyond definite efforts to root out undesirable practices belonging to earlier faiths, and working peacefully for the purification of Islam in India. The left wing, led by Sayyid Ahmad Shahid was the champion of militant Islam.[32]

The first appearance of the movement in India was about the year 1804, when the *Fara'zi* sect was founded in eastern Bengal by Haji Shariatullah. He began quietly to preach his ideas of reform in the villages of his home district. Although he encountered much opposition and abuse, he succeeded in gathering around him a body of devoted followers, and little by little came to be respected.[33]

The sect was further developed by the son of the founder, Dudhu Miyan, who was born in 1819. He devoted his time and talent to the spread of his father's doctrines, besides adding some new ones of his own. He had a genius for organization, and, making his headquarters at Bahadurpur, he divided eastern Bengal into circles (*halqah*), appointing a deputy, or *khalifa*, over each to collect contributions from the members for furthering the ends of the central association. He also established an espionage system, and used his agents to secure information throughout their areas for the purpose of protecting members of the sect against landlords. He even tried to make all Muslim peasants join this sect. His success was won chiefly among the cultivators and village workmen whose cause he espoused. 'He asserted the equality of mankind, and taught that the welfare of the lowly and poor was as much an object of interest as that of the high and rich. When a brother fell into distress it was, he taught, the duty of his neighbours to assist him, and nothing, he affirmed, was criminal, or unjustifiable, which might be used to that end. He also taught that there was no sin in persecuting those who refused to embrace his doctrines, or who appealed to government courts against the orders of the society and its acknowledged leaders'.[34]

The sect as such seems to be slowly dying out; but its chief doctrines of reform still live in what is known as the *Ahl-i-Hadis* sect, which has served in these later times as the organization into which most of the reforming tendencies of the early reformers of Indian Islam have been absorbed, and not without beneficial results to the Muslim community.[35]

The Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyah

Of the various attempts at reform in Indian Islam during the early part of the nineteenth century, none was prosecuted more vigorously or over a wider area than that sponsored

by Sayyid Ahmad Shahid of Rae Bareli. He was born on November 29, 1786 and was a direct descendant, in the thirty-sixth degree, of Prophet Muhammad's son-in-law Hazrat 'Ali, the fourth Khalif.[36]

When Sayyid Ahmad opened his eyes, the Indian sub-continent was under the grip of political anarchy, social breakdown and moral degradation. The Muslims were like the leaves of autumn—pale, lifeless—and a burden on the trunk of Islam. There was no central authority. Even the shadow of the Mughal Empire had disappeared in the darkness. The nucleus of the small independent Muslim kingdoms was also dropping out one by one like the beads of a rosary. The dawn of the nineteenth century saw British Imperialism firmly rooted on Indian soil—a natural and historical answer to political chaos and social turmoil.

Under the circumstances, Sayyid Ahmad considered only one honourable course open to him and his Muslim brothers, that is. to fight the forces of aggression whether Hindu, Sikh or Christian. He believed in the orthodox interpretation of the Quranic verse : *anzalna al-hadid fih-i-basun shadid.*[37] He also concurred with the *Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani* that "*Shari'at* is under the shadow of the sword" (*ash-Shara' taht-us-Saif*).[38] Hence, Sayyid Ahmad carried the Quran in one hand and sword in another. He himself jumped into the field of action, armed to the teeth, and died fighting for the cause of Islam at Balakot on Friday, May 6, 1831.

Sayyid Ahmad called his sect the *Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyah* (The Way of Muhammad), which has a strong 'Back to Muhammad' emphasis in it : but the opponents of the sect, the orthodox *maulvis* and others, speak of them derisively as *'Wahhabis'*. On the other hand, Sayyid Ahmad's followers retaliate by calling all who do not accept their principles of reform, *Mushrik* (Polytheists). From the time of Sayyid Ahmad the Orthodox Muslims of India have been divided into two camps and the division still persists because the principles of reform are too fundamental, and too closely related to the freedom of the spirit, to die.[39]

Sayyid Ahmad's work was not totally undone. The blood which oozed out of his throat calmed to a great extent the militant zeal of his followers. His mission descended into the

peaceful channels of *Tabligh* on which he himself failed to pin his whole attention. The reform movement was further developed by Maulvi Karamat 'Ali, whose work largely paved the way for the establishment of the organization which has more recently developed under the name of *Ahl-i-Hadis*. Karamat 'Ali was born at Jaunpur, U.P., in the early part of the nineteenth century. Some time between the years 1820 and 1824, during one of the tours of Sayyid Ahmad in northern India, Karamat 'Ali became one of the most ardent and devoted of his younger disciples. He identified himself with the peaceful propaganda for the reform of Islam in Bihar and Bengal. He was very moderate in his ideas. He gave himself with unreserved zeal to the double task of combating the Hindu customs and superstitions which had crept into the practice of Islam in eastern Bengal, and of trying to bring back into the fold of orthodoxy the new heterodox schools, which had grown up as a result of the work of Shariatullah and his son Dudhu Miyan. In some particulars he was far separated from the reform principles of Sayyid Ahmad, for he boldly accepted the doctrine of 'spiritual preceptorship' (*Piri-Muridi*), which the former vigorously denounced.[40]

The Ahl-i-Hadis

There is no gainsaying that the Religio-Political Reform Movement in Orthodox Islam as initiated by *Imam Rabbani Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani* Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi continued under subsequent *Mujaddids* (Regenerators) produced the desired effect if not totally revolutionized or transformed the life of the Indian Muslims. It influenced rank and file and persists even today. The most vigorous line of descent goes by the name of the *Ahl-i-Hadis* (People of Tradition). While the numbers of this sect are not extremely numerous, yet it received regular mention in the Census of India. It has an organization known as the 'All-India Ahl-i-Hadis Conference', which holds annual sessions; while district organizations are found in a large part of India, particularly northern India. Religious journals, books, and tracts are published; theological schools (*madrasahs*) for the training of preachers are maintained, and separate mosques are built.[41]

The leaders of the *Ahl-i-Hadis* seot have made it clear that

it is in no way related to the founder of the Wahhabi Movement of Arabia. Their creed and aim may be briefly stated thus: 'Whatever the Prophet Muhammed taught in the Quran and the authoritative Traditions (*Ahadis Sahih*), that alone is the basis of the religion known as the *Ahl-i-Hadis*'.[42] The tenets of the sect give clear expression to the zeal which seeks to go back to first principles and to restore the original simplicity, pristine purity, and sincerity of faith and practice. Emphasis is put upon the following:

1. The reassertion of the unity of God (*Tauhid*), and a denial of occult powers, and knowledge of the hidden things (*'Ilm-ul-Ghaib*) to any of his creatures. This is a direct attack on the beliefs in saints.

2. The rejection of the four recognized schools of canon law, and the assertion that the Quran and Traditions, as accepted by the Companions of the Prophet, are the only worthy guide for true Muslims. By thus casting aside the legal opinions, decisions, and judgements of the four orthodox schools of law, they reject the common notion that *Ijtihad* (legal conclusions) of the founders of these four schools are of final authority, and rather contend that every believer is free to follow his own interpretations of the Quran and the Traditions, provided he has sufficient learning to enable him to give a valid interpretation. Consequently, they do not accept the *Ijma'* (consensus) of the *Mujtahidin* (learned doctors) of the four schools as final and binding. They are inclined to the view that it is incumbent on the learned people of each succeeding age to seek for their generation their own interpretation of the Quran and *Hadis*, rather than to rely on *Taqlid* (blind acceptance) of the teaching and limitation of predecessors. The spirit and application of this principle have gone far beyond the confines of the *Ahl-i-Hadis* organization in influencing reform.

3. As a corollary to the preceding positions, every effort is made to eradicate customs that may be traced either to innovation or to Hindu or other un-Islamic origin.[43]

The Ahl-i-Quran

The spirit of reform that gave birth to the *Ahl-i-Hadis* was productive of still another sect, known as the *Ahl-i-Quran*, founded in 1902, which rejects not only all traditional theology,

and all the legal requirements of the four schools of canon law, but even the *Ijma'* (agreement) of the Companions of the Prophet, as expressed in the authoritative Traditions, and insist that the Quran alone is sufficient for guidance. The founder of this sect was Maulvi Abdullah Chakralawi, who had his headquarters in Lahore. He preached and wrote with great zeal during the early part of the present century. In addition to preparing a special form of creed and pledge to be signed by his followers (*'Ahdnamah-i-'Aqaid-i-Ahl-i-Zikr wa al-Quran*), prepared also a special prayer ritual for their use. He likewise had his own mosque for the adherents of his sect.

The *Ahl-i-Quran* considers the call to prayer (*Azan*) unnecessary; the *Takbir* (repetition of the phrase 'God is great') is not said aloud; in prayer only the obligatory (*Farz*) portions are binding, while the *Sunnah* (traditional) and *Nafi* (optional), rejected altogether. While other Muslims bend both knees in prayer, the *Ahl-i-Quran* kneel on one knee only. Funeral and 'Id prayers are considered unnecessary. They assert that offering of prayers and alms for the dead are of no avail.

This new group does not seem to have made any impact in India. In Pakistan also its number seems to be on decrease, yet it still continues to defend its position, and issues a monthly magazine, called *Isha'at-ul-Quran.*[14]

The Ahmadiyas

The movement initiated by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian (East Punjab) occupies a unique position, in relation to both the orthodox party and the rationalistic reformers represented by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and his neo-Mu'tazilite followers. Mirza Ahmad himself declaimed bitterly against the professional *Mullas* of Islam, who kept the people in darkness, who had allowed Islam to die of formalism, who had not prevented the division into sects. He deplored the popular worship of saints, and set himself as a true reformer to restore the true and unpolluted faith of Islam to the followers of the Prophet. At the same time, he could not tolerate the rationalizing expositors of Islam, such as Sayyid Amir Ali and Prof. S. Khuda Bakhsh, who were beginning to throw doubt on the Quran, as a perfect work of divine revelation, in tracing some of the sources of Islam to pre-Islamic Arabia, Judaism, and

even to Christianity. In regard to social reform, Ghulam Ahmad stood by the conservatives. He repudiated the abolition of *Purdah*, and strongly defended the Islamic law of divorce and polygamy, 'spurning any attempt within Islam to adapt Muhammad's teaching and practice to present day customs in Christian lands'.[45] He frankly regarded Islam as the only religion 'which not only claims to be free from every error and falsehood, but also offers proof of this freedom from error'.[46]

The activity of the Ahmadiyas in the work of propaganda is one of the chief marks of its vitality as well as the reason for its increase and growth. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad died in 1908, and since then the affairs of the community were, until recently, directed by a Khalifah with headquarters in Qadian where an elaborate organization was created for carrying on the work of education and propaganda, which has spread literally to the ends of the earth.

An event of fundamental importance occurred in the community when a group, headed by Khwaja Kamaluddin and Maulvi Muhammad Ali, seceded after the death of the first Khalifah, Nuruddin, in 1914, and formed what is known as the Lahore party, the original group being called the Qadian party. The Qadian party emphasize the fact that Mirza Ghulam Ahmad must be regarded as a prophet (*Nabi*), while the Lahore party insist that he was only a reformer (*Mujaddid*) in Islam. The former insists on pressing the points of difference that exist between their views and those of other Muslims, while the Lahore party would minimize them. The *Lahoris* tend more and more to merge in thought and practice with the orthodox community, and to have less and less in common with the *Qadianis*.[47]

The Classical Theologians

"In general, the Muslim theologians of India have, in the modern period, introduced or accepted little that is new in Islam", says Prof. Wilfred Cantwell Smith.[48] They are still, as a class, attached ideologically and functionally to the older order of society and to classical Islam. The Bareilly school accepts, almost with criticism, the social and religious order as ordained by Orthodox Islam. The school is *Hanafi*, and it

admits no *Ijtihad*. It is socially accommodating and adheres to the prevailing superstitions and saint-worship. The Brelavi *Maulvis* devote their time to the problems of scholastic theology. The Bareilly Madarsah trains personnel chiefly for service in small towns and rural areas.[49]

The Farangi Mahal and Nadwat-ul-Ulama (both in Lucknow) are other important seminaries in India. They are orthodox but have mildly attempted to modernize their curricula. They permit *Ijtihad*, though not for laymen. Their own decisions under this head have been far from radical. They go so far as to recognize modern problems; but their answers to those problems are mostly conservative. The Nadwat-ul-Ulama shows something of the influence of its former principal, Maulana Muhammad Shibli Nu'mani.[50]

At present *Nadwah* has become the centre of *Tabligh* and the faithful flock to it for religious guidance and moral unlift.

The Dar-ul-Ulum Deoband

At present time the most important *Madarsah* in the Muslim world, next to *Al-Azhar* in Cairo, Egypt, is the one located in the small city of Deoband in the Saharanpur district of Uttar Pradesh not far from Delhi. It was founded by Maulana Muhammad Qasim Nanautvi in the year 1867, just ten years after the fateful year 1857. It is today a truly international institution. Its influence reaches far and wide. Unlike Bareilly, Deoband is thoroughly dissatisfied with things as they are; and it is vigorous and determined in its efforts to improve them. Its aim is to resuscitate classical Islam; to rid the Muslims of the theological corruptions, the ritual degradations, and the material exploitation to which they have fallen prey since the British occupation. Theologically the school stands for a rigid orthodoxy, of the classical, Aristotelean, type. The door of *Ijtihad* is closed right. Deoband maintains rigorously the permises of Islam; within the limits of those premises it is relentlessly rationalist. It attempts to do away with aberrations, compromises, and intellectual laziness. The theological atmosphere is that of an unmitigated scholasticism; the professors use exclusively the old categories of thought. On the practical side, Deobandi Ulama are puritanically strict, like the *Ahl-i-Hadis*. They work assiduously to overcome and destroy

backslidings, superstitions, saint-worship, and all the paraphernalia of ignorance, poverty and fear. Their ideal is paraphernalia Islam at its purest –with a strict enforcement of the *Shari'at*.[51]

Causes of Conflict

The foregoing survey has made it amply clear that the differences in religious beliefs and practices, mainly cause conflict among the Muslims. Strangely enough, any attempt to purify Islam and gather the faithful at one point, has caused further split and schism. After all, the prophecy of the Prophet of God could not be untrue !

Secondly, the inter-sect conflict and rivalry was more sharp and pronounced during the heyday of Indian Islam. During the British regime various attempts were made to purify and rejuvenate Islam. This ultimately led to the establishment of new sects. The evils in most cases remained underground.

The Indian Muslims after independence become more concerned about their well-being and economic stability rather than to bother for sectarian discourses and animosities. They stood up to face the new challenge with courage and determination. This consequently minimized the inter-sect conflict and bitterness. The new generation under the new set up and studying non-religious curricula through the medium of Hindi or English, is generally averse and indifferent towards sectarian feelings.

Political Overtone

The Muslim politics in India has never been motivated by sectarian considerations. By a process of elimination and applying the principle of generalization for the purposes of political analysis of the causes of confiict, the Indian Muslims may be divided into two main groups: *Shias* and *Sunnis*.

Just as the *Brahmin* and *non-Brahmin* politics is a peculiarity of the South, the *Shia-Sunni* confiict is confined mainly to Lucknow and is part of U.P. politics. Dr. Zakir Husain Faruqi, a Shia, writing in *Caravan-i-Hayat* Bombay, a magazine devoted to ecumenical unity, traces the history of the problem. It is interesting to note that during the last century, in order to sabotage the growing Pan-Islamic movement, the Europeans

employed the *Ulama* of both sects in the newly subjugated Middle East. The contention is proved by the fact that immediately after their liberation, Iran, Turkey, Iraq, Egypt and Syria made short shrift of the *Ulama* suspected of being foreign agents. How the Shia-Sunni conflict was encouraged in India can be seen from the diary of Arastoo Jah Maulvi Mansab Ali, Meer Munshi, to Lord Dalhousie. The Maulvi's job was to write books and pamphlets creating sectarian strife among the Muslims. These inflammable books were published by the East India Company. They produced the desired effect.

On December, 30, 1906, All-India Muslim League was formed.[52] This was also the year of European expansionism.[53] The Muslim press vigorously denounced it. Hence, for the first time *Tabarra* (the Shias denouncing the first three Caliphs) and *Char Yari* (the Sunnis praising the four Caliphs) agitations started in U.P. and from that time Lucknow became notorious for Shia-Sunni conflict.[54]

In 1937, Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah revived the All-India Muslim League. Exactly at this time Maulana Abdus Shakoor of Luchnow launched his *Madah Sahabah* (Praise of the four Caliphs) movement. All India Jamiat-ul-Ulama-i-Hind, a body of Orthodox Muslim theologians with pro-Congress leanings, joined the *Madah Sahabah* agitation. The All India Shia Political Conference, again a pro-Congress organization, also became active. A well-known Congressite, Syed Ali Zaheer of Lucknow, was the leader of the *Tabarra* agitation. The Muslim League accused All India National Congress of creating dissensions among Muslims by fanning Shia-Sunni conflict in order to weaken the hold of Mr. Jinnah on Muslim masses.

Since partition, various attempts have been made to re-organize the Muslim community though it is a debatable question whether Indian Muslims should have an organization exclusively of their own.

The *Shias* and *Sunnis* do not quarrel on political grounds as they have no particular polarization on sectarian basis. Only the realization of this simple fact by the Muslim masses could pull the community out of ditch. Religiously, a way out of the Islamic dilemma of today may be found and the future

glory of Islam in India will be shown in the extent to which it truly demonstrates a spirit of tolerance, peace, brotherhood and enlightenment and sticks to the fundamentals of the creed.

DOCUMENTATION

1. It is interesting to note that seventy-three proved a vague number and in the course of time the total number of the Muslim sects exceeded beyond that. The early Muslim heresiologists, Abdul Qahir al-Baghdadi and Shahrastani, to quote no others, were at very great pains to make up, in their enumeration of the sects sprung from Islam, the traditional number of seventy three. According to Shahrastani the Magians were divided into seventy sects; the Jews into seventy-one; the Christians into seventy-two; and the Muslims into seventy-three. Among the sects there was always one to be saved. Vide *Dabistan-ul-Mazahib*, Eng. trans., Shea and Troyer, 1, 323 *note*.
2. Cf. Amir Khusrau, *Khazain-ul-Futuh* (Aligarh), text p. 21, trans. p. 21, trans. 12; *Fatuhat-i-Firuz Shahi*, Ellitot & Dowson, III, 378-380; Sir William Foster, (ed.) *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India*, (1615-1619), London, 1926, p. 274.
3. *Kharaja*, 'to go out', came to mean rebel and then a special brand of theological rebel. Khawarij is a sect of Muslims who affirm that any man even pious woman may be promoted to the dignity of *Khalifa*, even though he be not of the Quraish (tribe to which Prophet Muhammad belonged), provided he be elected by the Muslim nation. They acknowledge only Abu Bakr and Umar as true *Khalifas* and reject the *Khilafat* of Usman and 'Ali. See for details Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 270; Gibb, *Ibn Batuta*, p. 379 *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v.; Brockelmann, *History of the Islamic Peoples*. p. 70; A.S. Tritton, *Muslim Theology*, pp. 18, 35, 38.
4. *Dabistan-ul-Mazahib*, English translation by Shea and Troyer, I, 101 *note*; II, 324 *note*.
5. *Mishkat-ul-Masabih* (Eng. trans. entitled *Al-Hadis*, Calcutta, 1938-39), Book I, Chap. VI. p. 2; *Dabistan-ul-Mazahib*, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, p. 258.
6. It is the belief of all Muslims, whether Sunnis or Shias, that in addition to the revelation contained in the Quran, the Prophet received the *Wahi ghair Matlu* (lit. "an unread revelation"), whereby he was enabled to give authoritative declarations on religious questions, either moral, ceremonial, or doctrinal. The Arabic words used for these traditions are *Hadis*, pl. *Ahadis*, "a saying"; and *Sunnah*, pl. *Sunan*, "a custom". The Traditions are the records of what the Prophet did (*Sunnat-ul-F'il*), what he enjoined (*Sunnat-ul-*

Qaul), and that which was done in his presence and he did not forbid (*Sunnat-ul-Taqrir*). They also include the authoritative sayings and doings of the Companions of the Prophet. The following are the *Sihah-us-Sittah*, or "six correct" books, received by Sunni Muslims: (1) Muhammad Isma'il *al-Bukhari*, A.H. 256. (2) *Muslim* ibn al-Hajjaj, A.H. 261. (3) Abu 'Isa Muhammad *al-Tirmizi*, A.H, 279. (4) *Abu Daud* al-Sajistani, A.H. 275. (5) Abu Abdur Rahman *al-Nasai*, A.H. 303. (6) Abu Abdullah Muhammad *ibn Majah* A.H. 273; Cf Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, pp. 639, 643.

7. Cf. *Dabistan*, Shea & Troyer, II, 322ff. *Ijma* literally means unanimous consent of the Mujtahidin (learned doctors); Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 197; The four Imams of the Sunnis are the following; (1) An-Numan ibn Sabit al-Kufi (A.H. 80-150; A.D. 699-767) commonly known as Imam *Abu Hanifa*. (2) Malik ibn Anas (A.H. 95-179; A.D. 713-795). (3) Muhammad ibn Idris al-Shafai (A.H. 150-204). (4) Abu Abdullah Ahmad as-Shaibani al-Marwazi *Ibn Hunbal* (A.H. 164-241; A.D. 780-855); For details see *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Sub vocibus*.
8. *Dabistan*, text, p. 270.
9. For Shia beliefs and an account of that sect see *Ibid*.; Shea & Troyer, II, 362ff.
10. *Ibid*., text, p. 270.
11. The twelve Imams are as follows; (1) 'Ali, Khalif and Imam, was murdered A.D. 661. (2) Hasan, eldest son of 'Ali, Khalif and Imam, poisoned A.D. 669. (3) Husain, the second son of 'Ali, killed in battle at Karbala A.D. 680. (4) 'Ali surnamed *Zain-ul.'Abidin*, eldest son of Husain, died A.D. 712. (5) Muhammad Bakr, son of 'Ali, poisoned A.D. 734. (6) J'affar Sadiq, son of Muhammad, died A.D. 765. (7) Isma'il, son of J'affer Sadiq; see hereafter the account of the Ismailia sect. Herbelot names, as the seventh Imam, Musa, the second son of J'affar, surnamed as "*Sabir*" "the patient", and "*amin*", "the faithful guardian". The latter died A.D. 799. (8) Ali Raza, son of Musa, poisoned A.D. 816. (9) Muhammad, son of Ali Raza, called also Abu J'affar Muhammad, died A.D. 835. (10) Ali Askari, son of Muhammad, poisoned A.D. 868. (11) Hasan, son of Ali Askari, poisoned A.D. 873. (12) Muhammad, son of Hasan, surnamed *Mahdi*, "conductor, director"; he is supposed to be still living, and expected to appear as the rescuer of the Muslim world. It is noteworthy that of the twelve Imams, seven died a violent death, and two in an unknown manner. See *Encyclopaedia of Islam, sub vocibus*.
12. J'affar, surnamed *Sadiq*, "the just", was the eldest son of Muhammad Bakr. the fifth Imam. J'affar was born in Madina in the year of the Hijra 83, A.D. 702; he is acknowledged the sixth Imam, and of great authority in religious matters among the Musalmans. He died in his native town, under the Khilafat of Abu J'affar

Al-Mansoor, the second Khalif of the Abbasides, in the year of the Hijra 148, A.D. 764, in his sixty-second year.

13. See *Dabistan*, Shea & Troyer, II, 397, 398 and *note*.
14. *Ibid.*, text. pp. 280, 281.
15. For details see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, II, 246; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, edited 1908, VII, 291; Elliot & Dowson, II, 571-575.
16. *Ibid.*, II, 490.
17. Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, II, 199, 204.
18. Sarkar. *History of Aurangzib*, V, 434.
19. Enthoven, *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, II, 226; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I, 738, 739.
20. See *Maasir-ul-Umara*. I, 235-241; Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, II, 216, 217; Cf. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, III. 99.
21. Enthoven, *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, II, 226; also see *Bombay Gazetteer*, IX, Part II, pp. 24-57; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, II, 549; Sherring, *Hindu Castes and Tribes*, II, 183.
22. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, art. Bohoras; Najmul Ghani *Mazahib-ul-Islam*, 312ff.
23. M. T. Titus, *Islam in India and Pakistan*, Rev. ed., 1959, p. 104.
24. J.N. Hollister, *The Shi'a of India*, Luzac, 371ff.
25. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, II, 961; Najmul Ghani, *Mazahib-ul-Islam*, 334ff.
26. M. T. Titus, *op. cit.*, p. 110.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 106, 110.
28. From *Rafz*; literally meaning "forsaking". The term *Rafizi* now denotes any sect of Shias. See Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, *art. Rafizi*.
29. Cf. Hidayatullah, *Mulla's Principles of Mahomedan Law*, 16th ed., 1968, Introduction, p. xvi.
30. See W. W. Hunter, *The Indian Mussalmans*, 47ff; James O'Kinealy, "The Wahhabis in India", *Calcutta Review*, 1870-71. For refutation of their arguments see Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Review of Dr. Hunter's Indian Mussalmans : Are They Bound in Conscience to Rebel against the Queen*, London, 1872; Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi, *Sirat Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, pp. 243-247; *A History of the Freedom Movement* (Pakistan), I, 567, 568. Also see E. Rehatsek, "The History of the Wahhabya in Arabia and in India", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. IV Calcutta, 1880; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, II, 57ff.
31. Cf. Mohammad Yasin, *Studies : Historical and Cultutal*, pp. 154. 155.
32. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, II. 57ff.
33. *Ibid* M. T. Titus, *op. cit.*, pp. 186, 187., Muin-ud-Din Ahmad Khan, *A History of the Farā'idi Movement in Bengal*, Karachi, 1965,

Abdul Bari, "The Reform Movement in Beng3l", in *A History of the Freedom Movement : Being the Story of Muslim Struggle for the Freedom of Hind-o-Pakistan* 1707-1947, Karachi, 1957; Muhammad Ikram, *Mouj-i-Kausar* (Urdu), 8th ed., Lahore, 1968; T.W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*, Westminster, 1896; B.T. Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India : Deoband*, 1860-1900, 1980, Prinecton, New Jersey, pp. 68-70.

34. *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, II, 57ff.
35. M. T. Titus, *op. cit.*, pp. 185, 188.
36. For a detail account see Mohammad Yasin, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-180; Also see Qeyamuddin Ahmad, *Wahabi Movement in India*, Calcutta, 1966; B.D. Metcalf, *op. cti.* pp. 6-7, 52-63, 70.
37. "And, I created iron which is very dangerous in the form of weapons". *Quran*, 57 : 25. For a commentary upon the verse see Abul Kalam Azad, *Khutabat*, pp. 25, 26.
38. *Maktubat-i-Imam Rabbani*, Letter to Khan-i-' Azam. Vol. I, No. 65; Also see his letter to Shaikh Farid Bukhari on the the question of *Jihad*, *Ibid.*, Vol. I, No. 163.
39. W.W. Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 12ff.
40. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, II, 753.
41. M.T. Titus, *op. cit*,, p. 195; See Mohammad Yasin, *A Social History of Islamic India*, for the correct appreciation of the Reform Movement in Indian Islam.
42. Maulana Abul Wafa Sanaullah, *Risala Ahl-i-Hadis ka Mazahab*, pp. 82, 83; B.D. Metcalf, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 72, 141, 143, 149; 1 fill the skirt of my garment with flowers from the garden of the Quran and *Sunna*. The use of speculation and personal opinion is chaff to me; The analogy of no one will misguide the Nawab. For he has taken as proof the Traditions and the Book.

    Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan, Ahl-i-Hadis, Quoted from the original Persian in Saee-udullah, The Life and Works of Muhammad Siddiq Hasan Khan, *Nawab of Bhopal*, Lahore, 1973, p. 119; Its English translation taken from B.D. Metcalf, *op. cit.*, p. 264; 'Abdu-'l-Hakim Khan, Akhtar Shahjahanpuri, A'lā Hazarat Barelvi Kā Fiqhī Maqām (Urdu), Lahore, 1971, p. 32; Zafau'd-Din Rizwi, *Hayāt-i-A'lā Hazarat*, (Urdu) Karachi, 1938, p. 69; Ahmad Riza Khān, *Husamu l-Haramain*, Lahore, 1975 reprint, p. 15.
43. *Ibid.*; The *Khutbah-i-Sadarat* (Presidential Address) All-India Abl-i-Hadis Conference, Gujranwala (Punjab), 1924; M.T. Titus, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-197.
44. For this sect Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 197; Aziz Ahmad, *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan*, London, 1967, pp. 120-121; Murray Titus, *op. cit.*, Calcutta, 1959, p. 197.
45. H.A. Walter, *The Ahmadiya Movement*, Calcutta, 1918, p. 68; Spencer Lavan, *The Ahmadi Movement, A History and Ferspective*,

Amritsar, 1974, pp. 37-38.

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47. *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I, 301 ff; M.T. Titus, *op. cit.*, pp. 256-270; W.C. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 324-328.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 318.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 320.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 321; B.D. Metcalf, *op. cit.*, pp. 335-37. She says about the Nadwatu 'l 'Ulama, "founded in 1891 at the annual convocation of one of the important new religious schools, the Faiz'i 'Amm in Kanpur, provided one more variation on these important themes. Nadwah shared with Aligarh the vision of having Muslims activity involved with the ruling power. These Muslims were, however, to be not the western-educated but members of the 'ulama, men who could act simultaneously as internal leaders to their community, men whose prestige was not based on tenuous acquisition of western but on high skill in traditional learning and on membership in a world community with a great historical tradition. In the event, Nadwah's political ambitions failed and it, like other groups of 'ulama, primarily represented a centre for internal religious leadership of other Muslims.

They are also hoped to bolster the prestige of the 'ulama by setting a high standard of excellence and sophistication in scholarship. Maulana Shibli, long a major influence at Nadwah, was perhaps alone in envisaging an institution whose members would be characterised by "wide-ranging thought, intellectual freedom and courage"; For Shibli's own intellectual style see his "al-Jizya" in Aziz Ahmad and G.E. Von Grunebaum, *Muslim Self-Statement in India and Pakistan*, 1857-1968, Wiesbaden, 1970, pp. 89-94; Abu

Yahyā Imām Khān Naushaharaui, *Tarājim-i-'ulamā-yi Hadis-i-Hind*, (Urdu) (title page missing), Delhi, 1356/1937, pp. 395, 522, 545-49· Janab Maulvi 'Abdu'l'-Ali Madrasi al-Lakhnawi, in Nadwat'l 'ulamā, *Ru-dād-i Sālānah* (Urdu) 1897, p. 81; Zia-ul-Hasan Faruqi, *The Deoband School and the Demand for Pakistan*. Bombay, 1963; Farangi Mahal, the famous seminary was founded at Lukhnow in 1694 in the reign of Aurangzib, sheltered some distinguished Scholars notably 'Abd al-Haiy. His *Majmu'a-i-Fatwa* is a rather more academic compendium of legal rulings than the collections of the Deobandi 'ulama, vide P. Hardy, *The Muslims of British India*, Cambridge, 1972, pp. 172-73; Maulana 'Abdul'l-Halim Sharar, *Guzashtah Lakhna'u Ya Mashriq Ke Tamaddun ka Akhiri Namunah* (Urdu) Lucknow, n.d., pp. 25-26, 93, 119-23. This book has reeently been translated by E.S. Harcourt and Fakhir Hussain under the title, *Lucknow: The last Phase of an Oriental Culture*, London, 1975, pp. 74-76; W.C. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 296; Adul Bari Papers, (Urdu), preserved in Farangi Mahal, Lucknow; Francis Robinson, *Separatism Among Indian Muslims*, Cambridge, 1974, pp. 265-268; Kenneth Cragg, *Counsels in Contemporary Islam*, Edinburgh, 1965.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 321.

52. Hardinge Papers (85) Cambridge University Library, Just before the foundation of the League in Dacca, "Mohsin-ul-Mulk and others came to me at Lucknow to take my advice. They were quite frank. They could not hold their youngmen and feared their joining the Hindus, which meant ultimate absorption of the Mohmmedans. It was purely in their own interests that they formed the Moslem League, Harcourt Butler to Hardinge, April 3, 1913; Above fact is corroborated by Martin Gilbert, *Servant of India*, London, 1966, p. 51; p. Hardy, *Muslims of British India*, pp. 154-158; Pirzada, *Foudations of Pakistan* vol. 1, pp. 11-12; Rahman, M., *Consultation to Confrontation, a study of The Muslim League in British Indian Politics*, 1906-1912, Londan, 1970, pp. 52-60; *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, March 18, 1908, quoted in Lal Bahadur, *The Muslim League : its History, Activities* and *Achievements*, Agra, 1954, p. 73; Francis Robinson, *Separatism among Indian Muslims*, pp. 148-152; Tufail Ahmad, *Mussalmanon ka Raushan Mustaqbil*, Delhi, 1945, pp. 349-50; Ram Gopal, *Indian Muslims: A Political History* (1858-1947), London, 1859, pp. 329-38.

53. Weekly Report of the Director of Central Intelligence, October 6, 1917, Home Political B, October 1917, 43-5, National Archives of India, *Comrade* (Delhi), October 12, 1912; Mohammad Ali Papers, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi; *Masla-i-Khilafat*, Lahore, n.d., 1958, Indian Office Library, Urdu, B. 4222, pp. 7-9.

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